

# THAI STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES: A STUDY IN ATTITUDE CHANGE

by Jean Barry, S.J.



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## FOREWORD

In this paper Father Jean Barry explores the effects of periods of study in the United States on some of the values of a large group of Thai students in America. He realizes that the "modernization" of the cultural behavior of these Thai involves much more than the simple acquisition of new technical knowledge from another cultural tradition. He knows that such knowledge must be fitted in or added to a context of pre-existing belief and sentiment systems, must be realized or made overt through new modes of social interaction and communication, and must be supported by appropriate new physical equipment and facilities before it can be defined as effectively integrated into the national cultural system, or those segments of it in which students trained abroad play their roles.

Father Barry finds that some Thai student values do change during the experience of academic life in the United States; and he believes that it is important that we know of such value changes if we are to understand contemporary developments in Thailand. This would seem to assume that Thai students, returning from abroad after undergoing a personal "westernization" process will retain their new values in the context of Thai culture and will be in positions to contribute innovations based on such values to the cultural process of indigenous modernization which is proceeding apace in Thailand. It would be difficult, I think, in the present state of our knowledge to prove or test either of these assumptions.

Father Barry has now returned to Thailand (where he can be addressed at Xavier Hall, 70/9 Rajavithi Road, Victory Monument, Bangkok); and one hopes that he may follow up the careers of Thai who have studied in America and find out what happens to their changed values and what influence they bring to bear in changing aspects of Thai cultural behavior. Father Barry is optimistic about the possible role that changed values and attitudes can play in the modernization of a society such as Thailand's, for he believes that, together with knowledge, they can "account for dramatic economic developments". This is a topic which calls for more investigation for as J.A.N. Mulder has recently noted in a critique of Buddhist studies in Thailand

"very little is known about the relationships between value-systems and social action in general or economic action specifically." (Journal of the Siam Society, 55, 104, 1967.)

In the following Preface, Father Barry has indicated his excellent qualifications for conducting such a study as this. Because of its original length as a doctoral dissertation, the work has had to be shortened rather drastically. This was done, of course, with the general permission of the author; but he has neither approved nor disapproved of the specific deletions or alterations made by the Thailand Project's editor, Mrs. Susan Rapaport. Roughly two-thirds of the tables have been omitted since the material in them was included in the text; and much of the background on the methodological problems of the study has been deleted. We appreciate Father Barry's permissiveness in this regard and trust that his work has not suffered unduly under our hands.

Lauriston Sharp  
Professor of Anthropology  
and Asian Studies  
Director, Cornell Thailand  
Project

Ithaca, New York  
June, 1967



## PREFACE

The focus of this study on Thailand is the consequence of a set of circumstances reflecting the changing political scene of Southeast Asia during the last two decades. As a young Canadian member of the Jesuit Order, I became interested in the educational work of the Jesuits in China. My own appointment to the East came in 1953, at a time when China had come under Communist control. The former Chinese Language Institute of the Jesuits in Peking had been relocated first in Manila in the Philippines and then in Hainchu in Taiwan. In the hope of some eventual political breakthrough on the Chinese mainland I began to study Mandarin Chinese at this institute. After two and a half years of language studies I was graduated in 1956. At that time it was obvious that China would remain closed for many years. New plans and new assignments began to take shape. I became a student counselor for a few months in Taiwan and then proceeded with the required theological training of the Jesuits at the Chinese Seminary of Shanghai which had been moved to Northern Luzon, in Baguio, Philippine Islands. In 1960 I was assigned to the office of student counselor at the University Student Center of the Jesuits in Bangkok, Thailand, with the understanding that I would first live in Thailand, learn its language, and then do some graduate work in the United States before assuming any professional duty. After a year of Thai studies, I took the Thai language examination of The Ministry of Education of Thailand and was certified to teach in the schools of that country in 1961.

During these years I became acquainted with the problems of university students in Thailand as well as in other Southeast Asian areas such as Cambodia, Vietnam, Hong Kong, the Philippines and Taiwan. Everywhere students manifested a strong desire to go to the Western countries of Europe and North America for higher academic degrees, as if such an experience abroad was the only key to success at home. Policy makers also looked at such educational opportunities as a panacea for many of the problems confronting emerging countries. Many returnees from abroad were obtaining the best available jobs, and were working in them efficiently. However, there were often serious problems of adaptation and in some cases the trip abroad remained little more than a pleasant memory of foreign landscapes.

Among the various national groups of foreign students the Thai students in the United States offered many advantages for research on the implications of cross-cultural education. First of all, the students from Thailand represented one of the most culturally homogeneous groups from among the developing countries of the world. Thus they could be examined as a unit from which general conclusions could be validly deduced. Secondly, because of an unbroken tradition of national independence there were none of the prejudices and resentments often found among citizens of former European or American colonies. Therefore the reactions of the Thai to a Western environment could be studied independently of the affective loading found among former colonials. Thirdly, the 1,600 Thai students living in the United States made it possible to obtain in the various categories of a questionnaire frequencies large enough to warrant a statistical analysis. Fourthly, recent studies on large samplings of Thai college students in Thailand and on American college students in the United States presented some points of comparison for a study of attitude changes of Thai students in the United States. It was then possible to determine to what extent this last group of students departed from the attitudes commonly held at home and accepted the value system to which they became exposed in the United States. Finally, my own national background as a Canadian and the many years spent in the Far East placed me in a privileged, and possibly somewhat objective, position. I had been in close contact with the two national groups involved and I could more easily avoid the biases that could have plagued an American or a Thai researcher. And so, after consulting the Thai Embassy in Washington where I received warm encouragement, I began the present survey in March, 1965.

Many persons have lent invaluable support during the course of this project. Without their advice, help, and encouragement these pages could not have been written. I would like, first of all, to extend thanks and appreciation to the Thai students in the United States for their generous collaboration.

I am especially grateful to Professor Charles N. Morris, Professor Esther M. Westervelt, and Professor Richard H. Lindeman of Teachers College, Columbia University, under whose guidance this research has developed. I also wish to thank Lt. General Fong Pramualratana, Educational Counselor at the Royal Thai Embassy in Washington, D.C., for his gracious endorsement of this survey; Mr. Alan E. Guskin for the deep interest taken in a study which he considered to be a prolongation of his own research; Dr. Panninnee Rudaravanija and Professor Mani Dharmgrontarma



for their expert assistance with Thai translations; and Mrs. Jane E. Ruhl and Mrs. Susan Rapaport for their skilled and conscientious contributions in editing or typing the manuscript.

Finally, my many friends who have listened and criticized or who have lent me a helping hand with the tedious clerical work involved in a study of this nature deserve a special note of thanks.

J.B.

Quebec City  
Quebec, Canada  
June, 1966





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## I. PROGRESS, EDUCATION, AND ATTITUDES

### The Problem

This study deals with students from Thailand furthering their education in the United States. The quest of these young people for knowledge and for professional training and the problems connected with cross-cultural education, especially for emerging countries, could be described in terms of a story taken from a movie made recently in Japan, "The Island."<sup>1</sup> It is a movie in which nothing happens. A host of episodes, trivial yet intense, takes place without forming a story. This island consists of a five-acre hill of poor soil and an arid waste of stones. But it is inhabited and meticulously cultivated, inch by inch, by a young couple who labor unceasingly from dawn to nightfall. They have two sons, the elder of whom goes to school on the mainland where his parents go almost hourly to fetch water. Their own islet has no spring, no well; it is completely dry. For the greater part of the year they spend their time rowing to and fro in a boat bringing back buckets of water which they carry, slung from a yoke, carefully and slowly, to the top of their hill, where they water their crops plant by plant. Planting, hoeing, watering, rowing, carrying, digging, rowing, watering, such is the round of their existence. They hardly pause to eat and sleep. They know no one in the outer world of the mainland. This is simply the place where they go for water, the place where the school is situated, and the shopkeepers to whom they pay rare, respectful visits, and the doctor who arrives too late one day to find the elder boy dead. The film is as simple as that; it shows people living, working, and dying without uttering a word.

This austere film offers a parable representing certain facts of life in Thailand, a country which has toiled to maintain a deeply cherished freedom, independence, and a sense of national identity; a developing country trying to cope with the problems of a rapidly expanding world. It is,

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<sup>1</sup>The following description is based on Georges Fradier, Encounters and Celebrations (Paris: UNESCO, 1963), p. 28.

in a way, an island whose habitants visit other shores to seek some essential elements which will make it possible for their own natural resources to bloom into an economy sufficient to sustain a decent life for all.

This process is not a new one in Thailand. Over a century ago, King Mongkut, Rama IV, began to open the doors of his kingdom to Western influences in an effort to profit from the advances of science and technology. Europeans were imported to instruct some of the elite and later were employed to help reorganize government services and foster a public development program. Eventually young Thai were sent abroad to be trained in the skills and professions needed in all fields of public life in the hope that, on their return, they would be able to take over the programs started by the foreigners and carry on the economic development program.<sup>1</sup> The number of students going abroad has been increasing ever since. In 1937, there were 720 Thai students abroad. In 1957, the figure was 1,956.<sup>2</sup> Until World War II this movement of students was directed mainly towards Europe. Since 1945, the flow towards the United States has continued to increase as shown in Table 1, and today there are at least 1,630 Thai students in this country.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 1. Thai Students in the United States<sup>a</sup>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>
1921-1922 . . . . .	34
1930-1931 . . . . .	27
1940-1941 . . . . .	73
1950-1951 . . . . .	234
1960-1961 . . . . .	966
1964-1965 . . . . .	1,630

<sup>a</sup>Sources: Handbook on International Study: For Foreign Nationals (New York: Institute of International Education, 1965), p. 309; and Open Doors: Report on International Exchange (New York: Institute of International Education, 1965), p. 20.

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<sup>1</sup>D.G.E. Hall, A History of South-East Asia (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1961), pp. 578-90.

<sup>2</sup>International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, A Public Development Program for Thailand (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), p. 188.

<sup>3</sup>Open Doors: Report on International Exchange (New York: Institute of International Education, 1965), p. 20.

From the point of view of the United States the purpose of this program is: "To provide for the improvement and strengthening of the international relations of the United States by promoting better mutual understanding among the peoples of the world through educational and cultural exchanges."<sup>1</sup>

The developing countries, such as Thailand, are less concerned with mutual understanding in this educational program than with the training of specialists to meet their national needs for administrators, engineers, and other experts. Their assumption, as reported in a survey by Metraux, is that the objectives of the participants will be served by an academic experience abroad, and that the supply of foreign trained personnel will foster desired social and economic developments at home.<sup>2</sup>

This assumption proved to be true in some cases; in Japan, for instance, students trained abroad have helped to make that country a leader in modern industry and technology. But elsewhere, as in Thailand, things worked differently. Japan and Thailand, in spite of striking cultural and historical similarities, show sharp contrasts in levels of economic development.<sup>3</sup> Such a fact should cause authorities to question the validity of the assumption that professional training of the citizens of developing nations in the leading industrial countries of the world is the answer for development.

There are many good arguments that can be drawn against studies abroad for students of the emerging countries. There is an urgent need for trained people in the homeland, people who can be trained on the spot. It costs far less to educate students locally. In the case of Thailand, for instance, the Mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at the request of the government of Thailand reports:

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<sup>1</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, 87th Congress (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Guy S. Metraux, Exchange of Persons: The Evolution of Cross-Cultural Education (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1952).

<sup>3</sup>Eliezer B. Ayal, "Value Systems and Economic Development in Japan and Thailand," The Journal of Social Issues, XIX (January, 1963).



The Thai Government not only spends about 20 million baht a year to support government scholars for three to five years or more abroad, but also large sums representing the salaries of government servants participating in study programs financed by foreign aid; it also contributes to the cost of travel. These costs have in recent years aggregated around 35 million baht annually. This is well over twice the annual operating cost of Chulalongkorn University, and would suffice to pay for four years of education at Chulalongkorn for 3,365 students.<sup>1</sup>

The same report adds that the development of Thailand's own universities could greatly reduce the need for foreign study and help provide educational opportunities so conspicuously lacking now.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the strictly economic aspect of the problem, the flow of students to foreign countries often deprives the local institutions of their best students. The practice of seeking professional training abroad reinforces the dependence on other countries and outside help and can easily become a self-perpetuating process hindering the development of education within the countries concerned.

Young people easily become alienated from their countries while abroad and have difficulties readjusting on their return home. A South Asian student is quoted as having said to Dr. John W. Gardner, then Chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on International Education: "You talk of the need for education in underdeveloped societies, but my problem is to find a job when I

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<sup>1</sup>International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, A Public Development Program for Thailand (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), p. 188. The 1964 total allocation for the five universities under the supervision of the National Council of Education amounts to 271,251,100 Baht (approximately \$13.6 million) which is 2.4 percent of the national budget. Ministry of Education of Thailand, Report on Educational Developments in 1963-1964 (Geneva: The XXVIIth International Conference on Public Education, 1964), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, op. cit., p. 189.

get back. Half of my friends are unemployed intellectuals."<sup>1</sup>

Besides these arguments against international education, behavioral scientists today assert that an assessment of a program of sending students abroad within the context of the social and economic development of a country requires some understanding of the total process of social change. The dynamics of change involve many forces, cultural and psychological.<sup>2</sup> Ayal, for instance, underlines the importance of the value system in this process of growth: "Changes in political and social institutions, or investments by foreigners, will not by themselves bring about sustained economic development, unless the fundamental human values in the society are conducive to development."<sup>3</sup> This statement implies that changes in attitudes and values may be necessary prerequisites to technological and economic development.

To return to the story with which this chapter began, Thailand, technologically and economically, has been an island, dependent on the constant flow of foreign experts coming in, or of Thai nationals going abroad to receive specialized or advanced training. This practice, on balance, has undoubtedly been beneficial to the country. However, there is no evidence that this system will do more than cope with the needs of the moment, much like the unceasing efforts of our young couple on their islet which merely kept them from starvation. These considerations suggest the need for an examination of the program of international education for Thailand within the context of the process of socio-economic development of the country.

It was out of such a concern that the present study of attitude change of Thai students in the United States grew. Three broad areas of research are relevant to such a study: socio-economic development and attitude change, international education, and education and attitude change.

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<sup>1</sup>James L. Davis, "A Study of Present and Former Foreign Students Regarding the Effects of Their Residence in International House" (unpublished Doctoral project, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>George M. Foster, Traditional Cultures: And the Impact of Technological Change (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp. 58-90.

<sup>3</sup>Ayal, op. cit., p. 35.

## Summary and Objectives

The present research was undertaken to explore the impact of living and studying in the United States upon students from Thailand. The main purpose was to study the changes of attitudes that might result from contact with the total environmental matrix provided by the American educational experience. The areas surveyed were religious beliefs, occupational values, views on education and attitudes on courtship and family life.

Thailand at present faces the problems of a traditional economy based principally on the production of primary products. In an effort to meet the requirements of technical and managerial skills necessary for economic development it favors a wide program of international education.

Progress does not rest on academic degrees alone but is related to attitudes leading to achievement. Prior research on international education suggested that the foreign student's life is more than just academic and involves the acquisition of some of the attitudes and values encountered in the host country.

Studies of American universities suggested that campuses provide distinctive "climates" which may lead to a change in attitudes. This phenomenon will be even more significant when not only the academic community, but the whole environment itself differs from one's previous experiences. Upon arrival in the United States Thai students must cope with completely new interpersonal relationships and values. They must adjust to American actualities.

Cross-cultural education has been defined as "the reciprocal process of learning and adjustment that occurs when individuals sojourn for educational purposes in a society for a limited period. At the societal level, it is a process of cultural diffusion and change, involving temporary 'exchange of persons for training and experience.'<sup>1</sup>" The research done for this study was exploratory in nature primarily because this is a field which is still relatively new. There was no appropriate way of determining which variables were most important outside of the

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<sup>1</sup>M. Brewster Smith, "Cross-Cultural Education as a Research Area," Journal of Social Issues, XII (January, 1956), 3.

broad areas consonant with the overall rationale. As Smith pointed out, almost any theoretical issue in the sciences of social behavior can be relevant to this empirical domain. For instance, a cross-cultural experience can be seen as a problem of transfer of learning, attitude transfer, role conflict, identification, alienation, and the like. "Clearly we should not ask for a theory of cross-cultural education, any more than we can appropriately seek a theory of prejudice of small groups. Rather, the problems of cross-cultural education form a context in which various processes, each capable of theoretical formulation, come jointly into focus."<sup>1</sup> Therefore, in a preliminary study such as the present one, a certain number of variables had to be included which showed some promise of significance.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 8.



## II. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

### The Framework

#### Organizational Measurements

Rationale. Attitudes, in this study, are understood as standards or opinions involving readiness for a certain response which are operative in decision making and which can be identified by a verbal statement. This definition is a complex proposition which includes beliefs, drives, and values. Katz and Stotland state that an attitude contains three separate parts, the cognitive, the affective, and the behavioral.<sup>1</sup> The present study is concerned mainly with the cognitive and affective components of attitudes. The respondents reported their opinions or their feelings about certain statements; they did not indicate what behavior would take place in real life situations. A young man, for instance, saying that democratic practices should be used in education, might show a strongly authoritarian pattern of behavior in actual practice.

Attitudes have two dynamic dimensions, the degree of intensity or extent, and the direction. The analysis of the impact of study abroad on attitudes requires the analysis of those variables presumed to affect direction and extent.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Daniel Katz and Ezra Stotland, "A Preliminary Statement of a Theory of Attitude Structure and Change," Psychology: A Study of a Science, ed. Sigmund Koch (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 432.

<sup>2</sup>Rebecca Vreeland and Charles Bidwell, "Organizational Effects on Student Attitudes: A Study of the Harvard Houses," Sociology of Education, 38 (1965), 234. The authors make a distinction between "amount" and "extent" of change. "Amount of change involves both intensity of change in individuals and extent of change in collectivities." Consequently the term "extent" of change is preferred as referring to the "number of collectivity members in whom a given change of any intensity can be observed." Ibid.

The direction of change can be determined by the trend derived from a year by year comparison of the respondents' answers.<sup>1</sup> The subjects of a survey can be grouped, for instance, according to their length of exposure to a certain treatment, and the respective answers of each group can be set into a table by means of percentages. It is assumed that the change is in the direction away from the initial set of attitudes and towards the goals and values of the new environment.

It has been suggested by Brim that the extent of socialization to values and attitudes is a function of the power and affectivity of the socializing environment.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, extent of change is analyzed in relation to the organization variables linked to power and affectivity which constitute two sets of variables in the present study. A third set includes all the demographic data such as age, sex, religion, and region. These categories represent the independent variables and will be described in more detail before each one of the variables is defined.

1. Power Variables. Power is the capacity of the environment to act upon the individual and influence his attitudes. In this set of variables are included those aspects of the experience of the Thai students in the United States which can be a source of power and a channel of impact upon their thoughts and feelings. Power has three aspects: the nature of the power, the degree of influence, and the duration of impact. The nature of the power is defined by the characteristics of the environment in which the foreign student lives. The degree of influence is measured by the level and the frequency of communication between the environment and the students. The duration of the impact is the time element, the length of stay in the United States.

Power becomes a cause of change to the extent that it is perceived. One factor affecting such perception is the agency which made the experience

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<sup>1</sup>Allen H. Barton, Studying the Effects of College Education: A Methodological Examination of Changing Values in Colleges (New Haven: Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 1959), p. 56.

<sup>2</sup>Vreeland and Bidwell, op. cit., p. 235.

economically possible. Some students are sponsored by their own governments, some are sponsored by the host government, others by private organizations, and the rest rely on their own means. A student who is completely independent financially may react more freely to the environment than a student who not only lives in the United States but also depends on this country for financial support.

Another factor related to power is the degree of involvement. The broader the scope of the student's involvement with the university campus life, and in general with the society in which he lives, the more accessible he becomes to the diverse mechanisms and interventions which enhance the power of the environment. Involvement in this study is measured by the type of residence, work experience in this country, academic status and field of study.

The power variables used in the present study are:

- a) Length of stay.
- b) Type of residence.
- c) Work experience.
- d) Source of financial support.

2. Affectivity Variables. Affectivity refers to the emotional dispositions which condition an individual's reaction to environment. The affective loading of a foreign student's environment obviously is related to national status. The image a foreign student believes Americans hold of his native country influences his reaction to his experience in this country. Perceived accorded national status is closely related to attitudes toward those who assign that status and, in general, is an important determinant of adjustment.<sup>1</sup>

One indication that students have adjusted to a foreign culture is that they like it and accept it. A student who likes his host country

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<sup>1</sup>Richard T. Morris, The Two-Way Mirror: National Status in Foreign Students' Adjustment (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1960), pp. 9-13.

accepts readily the American judgment of his home country, and who is generally satisfied with his life and experiences in the United States will be more likely to accept the values and attitudes of those with whom he lives, and therefore be more exposed to change.

There are three affectivity variables in the present survey:

- a) Academic satisfaction.
- b) Perceived accorded national status.
- c) Satisfaction with perceived accorded status.

3. Demographic Variables. Certain constitutive differences in the population can be expected to interact with the power or affectivity variables so as to modify the reactions of the individual. Age and its subsequent mental and affective maturity might show certain trends in opinion. Sex is most likely to be reflected in occupational values and in attitudes toward marriage and family life. Religion, especially when the philosophies of life of the different religions involved are as diverse as Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, can be a factor accounting for variations. Region of origin reflects the environment which molded the individual now exposed to a new culture. It was judged irrelevant to ask the respondents to identify themselves in terms of racial stock. Academic level and field of study are of prime interest.

The following demographic variables were selected for this study:

- a) Sex.
- b) Age.
- c) Region of origin.
- d) Religion.
- e) Field of study.
- f) Academic status.

### Measurement of Attitude Change

Rationale. This research is limited to four aspects of the attitudes of the Thai students in the United States: religious beliefs, occupational values, views on education, and attitudes on courtship and family life. These four categories constitute the dependent variables. In selecting these aspects of the students' lives and experiences abroad,



the main criterion has been the very nature and purpose of the program of exchange of students from the point of view of Thailand, i.e., the acquisition of professional knowledge and experience for the development and growth of the country.

Because these visitors are students and also because a good number of them will play an active part in education when they return to their homeland, they will be involved in a most important aspect of any political, economic, and sociological development of a nation. Hence it is of prime importance to analyze their ideas on the aims and methods of education, and to try to determine the trend of their thinking on this topic as they go through the American academic mechanism. What is education for them and what are its goals? What constitutes a good teacher or a good student? How do they view the educational process and what facilitates learning? Do they move away from the traditional authoritarian climate of the Thai culture where obedience and compliance are the accepted way of life?

Once their training in the United States is over, these citizens will enter certain professions and hopefully become productive members of the society in which they live. Because of the level of their academic achievement they will easily occupy the most influential posts in their respective professions. What professions will benefit most from these experts? To what part of the country will they tend? How much can they be expected to contribute to the welfare of Thailand? What are the rewards and satisfactions they will anticipate from their occupations? How do they rate different occupations in the community? Given the new phenomenon of the career woman in Thailand, how do Thai students react to her role after having had a chance to observe American experience on this point?

Technological development and modernization of a country, to be sure, depend on education and professional knowledge. They are also related to the country's cultural and socio-structural patterns, and therefore to attitudes and values. On the basis of this reasoning, the study of the impact of the American environment on foreign students must include an exploration of the possible changes in areas of values and attitudes on life in general. Central to Thai civilization are its religion and its family life and organization.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Wendell Blanchard (ed.), Thailand, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1958), pp. 11 and 421.

Thailand has traditionally been a Buddhist country. However, because of the very nature of Buddhism, which holds that nothing is permanent, and also because the content of the people's life is more devotional than doctrinal, religion today consists of a loosely connected set of moral guides and philosophical considerations. What happens to this system of values and beliefs when the subject is exposed to a totally different environment? University campuses have rarely been renowned for religious revivals; however, the religious issue might arise during the stay of the Thai students in the United States. Will there be a greater willingness to accept the idea of a Christian God? Do students reach a clearer concept of the essentials of their own faith, e.g., on the person of Buddha, the life of the monk, the importance of good works?

The last area of attitudes surveyed is that of dating and family life. Students coming to American universities are usually at an age most concerned with dating, love, marriage, and family. They come from a society where courtship and family life follow a strict code of ethics, unlike the freedom found in American society. To what extent are the long standing customs put aside for a view more consonant with that of the host country? An especially delicate area is that of choosing one's partner for marriage. How is authority in the family viewed? To whom would these students turn for advice?

A list of the attitudes measured in each one of the four areas already described follows:

1. Religious attitudes and beliefs
  - a) Existence of the Deity
  - b) Conception of Lord Buddha
  - c) The monk his function, his way of life, his role
  - d) Purpose of "merit-making"
  - e) Religiousness
  - f) Importance of Buddhism
2. Occupational values
  - a) Occupational choice and expectation
  - b) Region of work
  - c) Requirements for occupational success
  - d) Security and risk in occupational choice
  - e) Requirements for occupational satisfaction
  - f) Basic life satisfactions
  - g) Women and careers
  - h) Relative importance of nine occupations

## 3. Views on education

- a) Educational goals
- b) The educated person
- c) The ideal teacher
- d) The ideal student
- e) Democratic practices in education
- f) Preparation required for teaching
- g) Cause of teachers' failures
- h) Reaction to conflicting commands

## 4. Attitudes on dating and family life

- a) Dating: desirability, frequency, and importance
- b) Marriage choice
- c) Duties of husband and wife
- d) Authority in the family
- e) Desired number of children
- f) Age of responsibility for man and woman

Design

In the methodological examination of Jacob's report on Changing Values in College, conducted by the Department of Sociology at Columbia University, Barton studied the problem of design for this kind of research. Studies on the effects of education on attitude can be classified in four main types:<sup>1</sup>

- 1. "After-only" comparison of exposed and unexposed persons
- 2. "Before-and-after" comparison of exposed group only
- 3. "Comparison of groups at different stages of exposure"
- 4. "Before-and-after" of exposed and unexposed groups.

In a study of a population of foreign students, it is almost impossible to determine beforehand what groups are to be compared. Students go to study abroad at different ages, at different times of the year, and with different degrees of preparedness. Their applications to foreign universities are processed by different governmental and private agencies. Their stay abroad varies greatly. Therefore an early identification of a homogeneous group of stu-

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<sup>1</sup>Barton, op. cit. p. 54.

dents going to the United States for further studies is impractical. This rules out the design where "before-and-after" comparisons are made. For the same reasons, and also because of the added difficulty of finding a matched group of students who did not leave their homeland, the "after-only" or the "before-and-after" comparisons of exposed and control groups cannot be established.

The third type of design, i.e., the comparison of groups at different stages of exposure, has the advantage of isolating groups of similar characteristics but different in the case of at least the one variable under scrutiny. In addition, while safeguarding homogeneous grouping, one must also assume that no outside events have occurred which could have influenced members of the group differently, at different stages of their total experience in America.

This design, however, as pointed out by Barton, has some weaknesses. The identified changes may simply reflect normal maturation or overall changes in public opinions in response to events. The findings may simply be indicative of internal differences in the composition of the groups. Selective dropping out of the program of exchange on the part of students for reasons such as difficulties of adaptation, or negative reaction to the environment, academic failure, and financial difficulties, can be a further source of variance.

## The Subjects of the Survey

### The Population

The Directory of the Thai People in America for the years 1964-1965 lists 1,190 students living in the United States for that period of time.<sup>1</sup> The Institute of International Education, for the same period of time, lists 1,630 students.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly neither of these lists is exhaustive, and some names have been omitted. In the New York area alone, 19 names of Thai students were identified that were not listed in the Directory. However, it can reasonably be assumed that the Directory includes the great majority of the subjects concerned, and as such it was considered as the

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<sup>1</sup>Directory of the Thai People in the United States of America 1964-1965 (Washington: Thai Alliance in America, 1965).

<sup>2</sup>Open Doors: Report on International Exchange (New York: Institute of International Education, 1965), p. 18.



population of Thai students in the United States. Sampling did not seem appropriate, hence all the subjects were included in the survey.

### The Problem of Rapport

Lack of rapport in surveys dealing with communities of foreign students may sometimes compromise success. Given the long tradition of independence of Thailand and its well known lack of negative attitudes towards foreigners<sup>1</sup> it appeared doubtful that the present inquiry would arouse suspicion or antipathy. On the contrary, it could be expected that these students would be intrigued by the interest taken in their own problems.

Lack of cooperation could possibly have come from a certain reticence of the Thai to open up the world of their private persuasions. The relative political immunity and freedom from the Great Western powers enjoyed by the Thai since the beginning of the country's history, along with a strongly individualistic type of religion such as found in Theravada Buddhism, have developed a general attitude among them of minding one's business and not revealing one's inner thoughts, especially to foreigners.<sup>2</sup> However, it was hoped that the anonymity of the questionnaire would reduce any possible reticence in communication.

### The Instrument

#### Type of Instrument

The structured questionnaire was used as an instrument of research. First of all, a recent study of Thai students in Thailand, conducted at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok,<sup>3</sup> provided a valuable set of data precisely in those areas surveyed in the attitudes of the Thai students in the United States. A first group not yet exposed to the "treatment" of foreign study whose effects were to be analyzed already existed. Moreover, the Chulalongkorn study had been designed partly on the model of the Cornell

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<sup>1</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 482.

<sup>3</sup>Alan E. Guskin, Changing Values of Thai College Students: A Research Report (Bangkok: Faculty of Education, Chulalongkorn University, 1964).

survey of American college students,<sup>1</sup> which provided a second point of reference, a description of the American attitude pattern likely to influence Thai students in this country.

The Chulalongkorn study was based on a representative sampling of one university, but the Cornell data were obtained from 11 universities located largely in the Northeast. In addition, student samples, except those at Cornell, were men, and the data were collected in the early 1950's. These limitations do not, however, take away the advantages of the comparisons which became possible by including in the present questionnaire items common to those two studies.

By its very nature, a structured instrument has definite advantages in obtaining standardized answers. "The impersonal nature of a questionnaire - its standardized wording, its standardized order of questions, its standardized instructions for recording responses - insures some uniformity from one measurement situation to another."<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, in instruments of this type there is a heavy reliance on the subject's verbal report. The researcher identifies only what the subject says his own attitude is. Because of the very nature of the structured questionnaire, responses are limited to the written answers to prearranged questions.

### Pilot Study

In the spring of 1964 a pilot study was carried out to assess the possibility of an investigation of this nature. Two groups of Thai students were surveyed to determine, in certain personal, political, and religious areas, what the changes were in values and attitudes caused by the experience of at least one year of study in the United States. The first group was composed of 61 students from three different residences in Bangkok. The second group consisted of 26 available Thai students in the New York area. Of the 44 items of that questionnaire, 20 showed a statistically significant difference between the two groups. Eight of these

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<sup>1</sup>Rose K. Goldsen et al., What College Students Think (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1960).

<sup>2</sup>Claire Selltiz et al., Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students in the United States (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), p. 238.

items on perceived national status and religious beliefs were included in the present study.

### The Questionnaire

It was on the occasion of the pilot study that Guskin's research on Thai students was brought to the attention of this writer. It was then decided on the basis of the reasons given above to use several items of his instrument in the present research.

The original questionnaire was designed by eight people, the author and seven university students.<sup>1</sup> It was pre-tested with 30 students. A Thai language expert and a Thai psychologist were consulted for a critical analysis of the content and the wording of the items. A final revision was administered to a stratified random sampling of 2,878 Thai students in higher education in Thailand.

Of Guskin's original 90 items, 35 were finally included in the present study. The basis for the selection was the rationale of the present research and Guskin's own book. In that report only 44 of the 90 items were discussed. In a conversation with the author, it was learned that the discussion of the other items was omitted either because of lack of validity or significance, because of poor item construction, or because the publication of the data did not seem opportune, as, for instance, in the case of religious attitudes. From those 44 items 29 were selected as more immediately consonant with the overall rationale of the present study. The present questionnaire includes, in addition, nine items on religious values, three from the pilot study and six from the Chulalongkorn questionnaire. Finally, there are five items on perceived national status taken from the pilot study, and thirteen items to obtain useful biographical information.

The questionnaire was printed in Thai [see Appendix]. Although Thai students in the United States undoubtedly understand English well, the use of the Thai language seemed preferable for two reasons. First, any comparison with the Bangkok study would carry more validity if the items were used in their original form. Secondly, it was hoped that a Thai document would not only be more readily welcomed by the respondents, but also would elicit more direct responses. One thinks more freely in one's native language; in the pilot study, which was conducted in English in New York, some students had difficulty with certain terms.

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<sup>1</sup>Guskin, op. cit., p. 6.

## Procedure

At the end of March, 1965, 1,214 questionnaires were sent by mail. This particular date was selected in order to reach the students at a psychologically favorable time, before the mounting pressures of final examinations. Moreover, since new students' arrivals are more frequent in September than in mid-year, it was hoped that the number of subjects who had been in this country for only a few months would be reduced to a minimum.

The questionnaire was introduced by a covering letter signed by the investigator and endorsed by an official of the Royal Thai Embassy in Washington, in charge of Thai students stationed in the United States, Lt. General Fong Pramualratana. General Fong had previously been personally interviewed in Washington and had manifested great interest in the present research.

Two weeks later, a follow-up letter, also in Thai, was sent to those students who had not responded thus far. Finally, a second copy of the questionnaire, with the original covering letter stamped with a short reminder note in English, was sent at the beginning of May to those who had not yet been heard from.

At the beginning of June the returns numbered 911, i.e., 84 per cent of the questionnaires which had presumed reached their destination. (One hundred thirty-three letters came back with notations such as "addressee unknown," "moved, left no address," "returned to Thailand.") An 84 per cent proportion of returns is indeed very high and constitutes a fair approximation of the population surveyed.

## Data Treatment

Of the 911 sets of answers received by June 1, 880 were finally processed, 31 having been found unusable and rejected either because they were incomplete, or because more than one answer had been checked for each question. Data were punched on IBM cards and frequencies and percentages were obtained by computer. Each one of the items of the four categories of dependent variables was analyzed separately. Tables were compiled with these items for each one of the independent variables. The purpose of this operation was to determine the extent to which each one of the independent variables was operating as a factor of attitude change. Non-experimental studies, such as the present



one, cannot provide absolute safeguards against unwarranted inferences. In order to be able to make an inference, e.g., about length of stay in the United States as a cause of attitude change, it was necessary to examine the relationships between attitudes, and the other variables which could have been a causal factor in change.

The Chi square was selected as an appropriate test to examine the data for significance. "When frequencies in discreet categories (either nominal or ordinal) constitute the data of research, the Chi square test may be used to determine the significance of the differences among Krindependent groups."<sup>1</sup> Siegel further notes that in order for the Chi square to be used validly, the expected frequencies in each cell should not be too small; "fewer than 20% of the cells should have an expected frequency of less than 5, and no cell should have an expected frequency of less than 1."<sup>2</sup> When these requirements were not met by the data in their original form, categories were combined as suggested by Siegel on the basis of some common property, so as to increase the expected frequencies in the various cells. The limiting power distribution of the Chi square tends to 1 as N becomes large.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), p. 175.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

### III. THE THAI STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

#### The Homeland: A Profile

The students surveyed in this study come from a country which has come into much prominence since the end of World War II.<sup>1</sup> The Kingdom of Thailand occupies some 200,000 square miles of the central portion of the Southeast Asian peninsula. It is about the same size as France. The country consists of a central alluvial plain, drained by the Chao Phraya River system; mountain ranges and smaller plains to the north and west, a relatively arid plateau to the northeast, and to the south a narrow strip of the Kra peninsula north of mainland Malaysia. It is monsoon country with tropical temperatures and humidity.

Thailand's estimated population for 1964 was almost 30 million.<sup>2</sup> The Thai, the main ethnic group, are said to have originated in southern or southeastern China.<sup>3</sup> They belong biologically to the Mongoloid stock. Following migratory movements to the south in the later centuries of the first millennium of the Christian era, they formed independent Thai kingdoms in what is today Northern Thailand. After a succession of dynasties and wars among themselves, with the Khmers, the Burmese, and Vietnamese, the country with its capital now at Bangkok entered its modern era in the middle of the nineteenth century under the great Kings Mongkut and Chulalongkorn.

Today Thailand is one of the more prosperous areas in Southeast Asia. This prosperity is due to the country's long

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<sup>1</sup>This is no place to present a comprehensive description of Thailand. However, the reader unfamiliar with the area may find the following brief profile useful to an understanding of the data analyzed here.

<sup>2</sup>Office of the Prime Minister, Statistical Yearbook: Thailand, No. 25 (Bangkok: National Statistical Office, 1964), p. 41.

<sup>3</sup>Thailand: Official Yearbook 1964 (Bangkok: Government House Printing Office, 1964), p. 11.

history as a sovereign nation, its fertile soil and climate, a productive system of rice farming by independent small land-holders, and the absence of population pressure. In an effort to build modern industry, the Thai government is seeking to remedy deficiencies in power, transport, and other basic needs. Thailand has been a constitutional monarchy since 1932, but it has yet to develop a satisfactory constitution and a working democratic system of parliamentary government.

Geographically located midway between China and India, Thailand has been the focal point of the great civilizations of these two countries, blending them into a new and original culture. Bangkok in particular is a cosmopolitan crossroads, a perfect choice as permanent headquarters for various international organizations. The culture of the Thai is most vividly manifested in the architecture and sculpture of its temples and palaces. Graceful spires and glowing tiered roofs sparkle with golden color throughout the country.

The omnipresent temples point out the important role played by religion. The Thai cultural stream, its customs, arts, and literature, finds its inspiration in Theravada Buddhism, the state religion. Today's beliefs consist mainly of a core of doctrine derived mostly from Pali traditions and associated with animistic and other folk traditions and customs. The main focus is on man's individual effort to break the chain of existence and to achieve after rebirths a perfect state of release and rest.

### Region of Origin

The group of respondents in this survey, geographically speaking, is not representative of the whole population of Thailand, but reflects well its state of economic development. Since over 60 percent of Thai students in the United States finance their own education abroad, they must necessarily come from the most wealthy parts of the country, e.g., Bangkok and the Central Plains. This imbalance is corroborated by the findings of the present study. Table 2 includes a breakdown by region of the total population of Thailand, of the subjects in the sampling of Guskin's study, and of the Thai students who took part in the present survey. A comparison of these three sets of data shows that nearly three-fourths of the Thai students who were in the United States in 1965 came either from Bangkok or from the rich rice lands surrounding the

TABLE 2. Compared Distribution of the Population of the Present Study with the 1960 Census and Guskin's Sampling By Region (Percentage in Each Category)

Region	Population of Thailand <sup>a</sup>	Guskin's Sampling <sup>b</sup>	Present Study
Bangkok	8.2	16.4	52.7
Plains	23.5	27.1	21.9
North	21.7	18.7	8.4
Northeast	34.2	18.7	8.1
South	12.4	19.2	8.9

<sup>a</sup>Office of the Prime Minister, loc. cit.

<sup>b</sup>Guskin, op. cit., p. 10.

capital. The central plains and Bangkok, however, contain only 32 percent of the total population. Guskin, in his own study, had already noted the disproportionate number of the students who were residents of the Bangkok area.

While these proportions may be disturbing for the future development of the country, they are quite understandable. Entrance to the University is based on the ability to pass an examination which includes many different areas of study. Bangkok students are generally much better prepared for the examination because the secondary schools in the capital are usually better equipped and have more highly qualified teachers than those in provincial areas. Added to this are the all important factors of educational stimulation for students in terms of newspapers, reading material in general, radio and television media, and the general stimulation that comes with living in a large city.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 11.



When the students were asked their area of preference for work (Question 30), although 47 percent originated from outside Bangkok, only 21 percent said they were willing to return to the provinces and work there. It follows that not only is there an unequal distribution of educational opportunities, insofar as the international flow of students is concerned, but an even greater inequality of available trained personnel throughout the land is likely to exist in the future.

Here a note may be added on the desire foreign students allegedly have to remain in the United States. Sometimes the argument is given against programs of international exchange that, once a young citizen from an underdeveloped country goes abroad he does not want to return home. While no one knows the precise number of foreign students who take up permanent residence in the United States, the available data show that only 9 percent remain permanently in this country. As for the Thai, 7 percent expressed a wish to remain abroad, and it is likely that only a few of these students will actually remain in the United States.

#### Sex, Age, Length of Stay, Field, and Level of Study

Table 3 contains a distribution of the respondents by age and sex. This population includes twice as many males as females. Approximately 65 percent of these Thai

TABLE 3. Percentages of Thai Students in Various Age Groups By Sex

Sex	Number	Under 21	21-24	25-28	29-Over
Male	580	11.4	22.4	26.7	39.5
Female	300	16.7	19.7	30.3	33.3
Total	880	13.2	21.4	27.7	37.4

are over 25 years of age. This is understandable since many of them are either graduate or postgraduate students. There is a relatively high number of boys and girls who are 20 or under 20. Among these younger students are the children of Government officials stationed in the United States, and the children of wealthy families who want to give their children the best possible educational opportunities.

Table 4 presents a distribution of Thai students in the United States according to their fields of major interest and their length of stay in this country. About 70 percent of the students had been in the United States between two and three years. This is explained by the fact that, by and large, Thai students do not go beyond the level of a Master's degree. Some, such as resident doctors, simply seek professional training. Only 10 percent of this group were working towards a doctorate. Engineering and physical sciences students were likely to have been in the United States longer, while students of agriculture had seldom been in this country more than two years.

TABLE 4. Percentage of Thai Students Staying Various Lengths of Time in the United States By Field of Major Interest

Field	Months					
	1-6	7-18	19-30	31-42	43-54	55+
Agriculture	4.1	69.5	15.3	5.6	4.1	1.4
Business Administration	5.0	35.4	26.3	16.2	8.0	9.1
Education	9.5	51.3	19.4	9.5	4.3	7.0
Engineering	6.1	27.6	24.5	11.2	11.2	19.4
Humanities	9.8	38.2	19.6	9.8	9.8	12.8
Medical Sciences	3.8	29.8	34.8	7.0	7.0	11.3
Physical Sciences	3.5	38.4	23.2	8.1	8.1	21.0
Social Sciences	3.0	31.6	22.5	10.9	10.9	8.7
Other	7.5	52.8	24.5	5.8	--	9.4
Total	7.0	38.9	24.3	10.7	7.7	11.4

The chief fields of study for the Thai in America in 1965 were medicine and the social sciences. The other fields of study attracted roughly the same numbers of subjects, education and agriculture being at the bottom of the scale. This distribution of specialization is another reflection of the state of development of the home country. Thailand's population is mainly agricultural, i.e., about 80 percent, and industry is still at an early stage of development. The level of technological development, along with the need to improve the kingdom's vast agricultural potentials, explains the relatively high proportion of students in agriculture, and the limited number of students in engineering. Of the total number of foreign students in America in 1965, 22.12 percent were getting degrees in engineering, and only 3.1 percent in agriculture. For Thailand the percentages were respectively 11.1 percent and 8.2 percent according to the present survey.

When the fields of studies of these students are compared with their expected fields of work (Question 36) there is a considerable discrepancy, due to the fact that many students expect either to teach, or to become civil servants after graduation. The schools and the government are still the two major outlets for university graduates.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 5. Degrees Sought By Thai Students in the United States By Sex

Sex	B.A.		M.A.		Ph.D.		Other	
	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent
Male	166	28.6	213	36.7	73	12.6	128	22.0
Female	78	26.0	127	42.3	20	6.7	75	25.0
Total	244	27.7	340	38.9	93	10.6	203	23.0

<sup>1</sup>Mosel has noted that today, as in the days of Chulalongkorn, the occupational structure offers very few choices. There are a limited number of alternatives, although increasing, through which talents and ambitions can be released. "Royal policy since the Ayudhyan period has strengthened the prestige of the public service, so that even today government employment is perhaps the only secular status characteristic which automatically confers prestige." James N. Mosel, "Thai Administrative Behavior," Toward the Comparative Study of Public Administration, ed. William J. Siffin (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1957), p. 297.

Table 5 shows the level of studies of the respondents. Approximately half of them were graduate students. This was higher than the proportion at the graduate level for the whole population of foreign students in the United States which was only 42.5 percent.<sup>1</sup> There was also a much higher proportion in the category "other". These were usually professionals undergoing post-graduate training for no specific degree. They were found mostly in the fields of medicine, the humanities, and business. The high proportion of non-degree candidates stressed an important aspect of the students' point of view. As has been noted by Embree, there is "a prestige associated with study in Europe or the United States; and, then, travel is pleasurable. A reflection of these factors is that many Thai are not so much interested in going abroad for the love of learning, but rather in order to visit some well known American or British institution. It is more important to have attended Oxford, or Yale, or Princeton, even if one does not take a degree, then it is to have graduated from some smaller or less well known college."<sup>2</sup>

Table 6 presents the labor force projections for the high level manpower for 1980, prepared by the Joint Thai-USOM Human Resources study. A comparison of the 1965 dis-

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<sup>1</sup>Open Doors: Report on International Exchange (New York: Institute of International Education, 1955), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>John F. Embree, "Thailand--A Loosely Structured Social System," American Anthropologist, LII (1950), 191. The pleasurable aspect of studies abroad can be stressed further by noting that this is related to a very important characteristic of the Thai people. Many anthropologists and social scientists have noted this. Landon, for instance, says: "A word that indicates an important part of the Siamese character is the word 'sanuk'. In its simplest aspects it means 'fun-loving' or 'pleasure-loving'. The word also means a 'deep interest in something, momentarily, to the exclusion of all else.' The Siamese are a pleasure-loving people, as is shown by their ready laughter. The people they like are those who can make them laugh and feel happy. Siamese have remarked that they respect those who make them laugh. They enjoy a show, a dance, a game, a trip to some near or distant point. To travel is definitely 'sanuk'. The idea of 'sanuk' carries even into religion." Kenneth P. Landon, Siam in Transition (Shanghai: Kelley and Walsh, 1939), p. 143. See also Ayal, op. cit., p. 47; Blanchard, op. cit., p. 483; and Embree, loc. cit.



tribution of specializations of the Thai students in America with these projections indicates to what extent this group of students will help meet the needs of Thailand in the years to come. While the distribution of the trainees, who were in the United States in 1965, was adequate in the areas of agriculture and business, it showed a shortage of future engineers and trained personnel in the physical, chemical, and biological sciences.

TABLE 6. High Level Manpower: Labor Force Projections for 1980<sup>a</sup>

Area	University Graduates	
	Number	Percent
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	1,639	2.65
Professional and Technical	34,500	55.22
Administrative	3,950	6.31
Clerical	12,000	19.20
Sales	2,043	3.25
Miners	96	0.15
Transport and Communications	803	1.28
Craftsmen, Laborers	5,400	8.63
Service Workers	1,840	2.94
Not classified elsewhere	238	0.37
Total	62,509	100.00

<sup>a</sup>Joint Thai-USOM Human Resources Study, "Preliminary Assessment of Education and Human Resources in Thailand" (Bangkok: The Agency for International Development USOM-Thailand, 1963), p. 17. (Mimeographed.) These projections indicate the jobs that will have to be filled, and hence the amount and kind of education and training necessary, to equip the labor force appropriately in order to insure economic growth.

## Religion

The religious affiliation of the Thai students in the United States is described in Table 7. Buddhism, the traditional religion of Thailand, was found among these students in the same proportion as in the general population, 94 percent. However, the proportion of Christians and Muslims was reversed. Muslims live in peninsular Thailand and, as in many provincial areas, they do not have the academic facilities leading to higher studies. Christians, however, have access to a number of excellent schools.

TABLE 7. Religious Affiliation of Thai Students in the United States Compared to the Population of Thailand  
(Percentage in Each Category)

Religion	Population of Thailand <sup>a</sup>	Thai Students in the United States
Buddhist	94.1	94.0
Muslim	3.8	.5
Christian	.5	3.6
Other	1.6	--
None	--	1.9

<sup>a</sup>Office of the Prime Minister, op. cit., p. 60.

## Place of Residence in the United States and Other Characteristics

Thailand ranked thirteenth in number of students in the United States in 1965, very high in proportion to the size of the country, its distance from the United States, and the paucity of common cultural ties. This phenomenon is probably explained by a long tradition of friendly and open attitudes toward Western civilization, especially since the days of Rama IV, the great king Mongkut.

The flow of students abroad, however, is not directed only to the United States. Although complete data on Thai

university students studying abroad are not available, it is reported that, in 1963, 993 Thai left their country for further academic training under the sponsorship of either the Thai Government, or of a bi-lateral or multi-lateral scholarship agreement.<sup>1</sup> For the same year, there were only 340 Thai students in the United States classified in this category.<sup>2</sup> Most of the remaining students would probably be found in Europe.

In America, the states having the largest numbers of Thai students in 1965 are ranked in Table 8. The pattern of distribution across the country was substantially the same as that of the total population of foreign students for that year. For the academic year of 1964-1965, Thailand had at least 10 students in 27 states of the union. The two leading states were California and New York.

If the living pattern of the New York group is by any means typical, they often teamed up with a friend, shared the rent of an apartment or room, and cooked their own meals. In addition to economy, this mode of living offered the advantage of being able to eat a more familiar kind of food. There were substantially more men who lived off campus than women. For women, student residences seemed to have a greater appeal, possibly because of the greater security provided by such organizations. Seven percent of all Thai students reported that they were living in an American home.

### Source of Financial Support

In Table 9 Thai students are distributed according to source of income and length of stay in the United States. A good number of them came to America on the strength of their family's financial resources. The cost of education in American universities is well above the means of the average Thai family. In 1960, for instance, a salary of 1200 baht (\$60.00) a month was the starting point for a university graduate and was considered a good salary.<sup>3</sup> However, in spite of prohibitive costs and the added travel expenses, 60 percent of the respondents reported they depended on family or personal money. The remaining

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<sup>1</sup>Joint Thai-USOM Human Resources Study, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Open Doors: Report on International Exchange (New York: Institute of International Education, 1965), p. 18.

<sup>3</sup>Joint Thai-USOM Human Resources Study, op. cit., p. 62.

TABLE 8. States with Largest Numbers of Thai Students<sup>a</sup>

State	Thai Students		Rank for All Foreign Students in the United States <sup>b</sup>
	Number	Rank	
California	133	1	1
New York	114	2	2
Washington, D.C.	70	3	7
Pennsylvania	68	4	6
Illinois	67	5	4
Massachusetts	66	6	5
Indiana	62	7	9
Michigan	50	8	3
Ohio	40	9	10
Maryland	39	10	--
Florida	34	11	16
Colorado	32	12	--
Wisconsin	32	13	12
Hawaii	31	14	--
Missouri	31	15	15
Oregon	31	16	19

<sup>a</sup>Compiled from the Directory of the Thai People in the United States of America 1964-1965 (Washington: Thai Alliance in America, 1965).

<sup>b</sup>Open Doors: Report on International Exchange (New York: Institute of International Education, 1965), p. 7.



TABLE 9. Length of Stay in the United States and Source of Income

Length of Stay in Months	Self-supporting		Thai Government Scholarship		United States Government Scholarship		Other Scholarship	
	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent
1-6	35	6.6	18	13.3	4	4.3	5	4.3
7-18	183	34.3	48	35.6	62	66.7	49	41.9
19-30	142	26.6	21	15.6	19	20.4	32	27.4
31-54	117	20.8	20	14.8	7	7.6	18	15.4
55-over	58	10.7	28	20.7	1	1.1	13	11.1
Total	535	60.8	135	15.3	93	10.6	117	13.3

40 percent were supported by scholarships from various sources. Education abroad is considered a good investment, and it carries the promise of higher wages on the return home. For instance, the general salary classification schedule of the government of Thailand for 1960 provides that in the second highest class of employees, e.g., 1st line supervisors and Deputy District Officers, the monthly salaries should be as follows<sup>a</sup>

Thai Master's Degree, or three years of U.K. University starts at 1400 baht (\$70.00)

Four years of foreign University or three years of University in U.K. with honors starts at 1600 baht (\$80.00)

U.S. Master's Degree or French Doctorate starts at 1900 baht (\$95.00)

U.S. Ph.D. Degree starts at 2200 bhat (\$110.00)<sup>1</sup>

Such larger salaries explain partly the great attractiveness of a graduate education in the United States

<sup>1</sup>Joint Thai-USOM Human Resources Study, loc. cit.

and the sacrifices that families are willing to make, in order to offer one of their children such an opportunity. The number of years spent in the United States did not seem related to the source of income. The students sponsored by the United States government, however, were less likely to remain in the country for a period longer than two years.

The distribution of Thai students by academic status and source of financial support is given in Table 10. Scholarships, from whatever sources, were granted almost exclusively to graduate students. The preference was for men: the ratio at three to one. Almost 70 percent of the self-supporting students were either undergraduates or non-degree students.

Students may sometimes try to supplement their source of income with the earnings derived from jobs opened to them. However, 69 percent of Thai students reported having had no work experience at all while in the United States. Only 16 percent said they had held full-time jobs and these were mostly interns and resident doctors in hospitals. The remaining 15 percent had done part-time work either during the summer months, or during the year.

The validity of the data on work experience can be questioned. Foreign students are aware of the regulations restricting paid employment in the United States.<sup>1</sup> A number of students might have been involved in some kind of paid employment but preferred not to mention it to avoid any possible accusation of violating the regulations of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service.

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<sup>1</sup>Regulations for paid employment for foreign students in the United States differ according to the type of visa. "F-1" and "J-1" visas do not allow any kind of paid employment except upon arrangement with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, or in cases where paid work is considered to be part of the student's program. Summer employment is permitted when it is authorized by the sponsors of the Exchange-Visitor Programs. The other students are referred to the latest instructions from the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Handbook on International Study: For United States Nationals (New York: Institute of International Education, 1965), pp. 288-291.

TABLE 10. Source of Financial Support and Academic Status By Sex

Source	Male				Female				Total
	Under-graduate	Graduate	Other	Total	Under-graduate	Graduate	Other	Total	
Self	146	97	91	334	72	73	56	201	535
Thai Govern- ment	8	88	6	102	3	28	2	33	135
United States Government	5	59	4	68	--	23	2	25	93
Other Sources	7	45	24	76	3	23	15	41	117
Total	166	289	125	580	78	147	75	300	880

#### IV. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES

The main objective of the present study was defined as an endeavor to explore the impact of the American environment upon the attitudes of Thai students. This process is a complex one, and it can easily be recognized that many factors may account for the differences related to student reactions and adjustment to life in a foreign country. For purposes of a more accurate frame of reference, this chapter presents a description of the relationships between the personal characteristics of these students and their attitudes.

These characteristics were defined in Chapter II as the independent variables and they were grouped in three categories: the power variables, the affectivity variables, and the demographic variables. Each one of these factors will be considered in this chapter to see to what extent it is related to differences in the attitudes of the students.

##### Power Variables

Power variables were defined in Chapter II as the aspects of the students' experiences which may be the sources of power and the channels of impact of the total environment upon their attitudes.

##### Length of Stay in the United States

Length of stay is considered the main variable in the present study since its analysis makes it possible to explore the attitude changes of the Thai students. The relationships between attitudes and sojourn in the United States among Thai students are described in great detail in the following chapters. At this point, however, the problem of the relationship between the variable length of stay and the variable age should be examined. Selltiz has noted the possibility that in research involving people of different ages, the age factor may be compounded with the length of exposure factor. "It is likely that those individuals who have been exposed to a given experience for a

longer time are older and it may be the difference in age rather than in exposure to the assumed causal variable which accounts for differences in the dependent variable. The solution here is 'to control' for age--that is, to compare individuals of the same age who differ in length of exposure to the variable."<sup>1</sup>

In Table 11 the respondents were distributed according to length of stay in the United States and age.

TABLE 11. Length of Stay in the United States of Respondents By Age<sup>a</sup> (Percentage in Each Category)

Months in the United States	Number	Under 21 (N=116)	21-24 (N=189)	25-28 (N=246)	29-over (N=309)
1- 6	62	17.7	11.3	32.3	38.7
7-18	342	16.4	16.4	29.5	37.7
19-30	214	14.5	20.1	24.8	40.7
31-54	162	6.8	34.0	23.5	35.8
55-over	100	7.0	28.0	34.0	31.0

<sup>a</sup>The contingency coefficient  $C = .2$  and is significant at the .01 level of significance.

The pattern of distribution of the different age groups according to length of stay in the United States is consistent except for the age group 21-24 where the proportion of students who have been abroad longer is larger.

When tables are controlled for age, as suggested by Selltitz, the result consists of fractional differences only. Such minimal differences indicate that, indeed, the factor age is only slightly related to the factor length of stay. These small differences did not justify the immense labor of controlling for the factor age in all the tables

<sup>1</sup>Selltiz et al., op. cit., p. 136.



of the study. Therefore, the data are analyzed in their original form.

### Type of Residence

The analysis of the relationship between type of residence and students' attitudes presents some problems because of the uneven distribution of the subjects: 36 percent live in residence halls, 54 percent in apartments or boarding rooms, and only 7 percent are staying in an American home. The first two groups show very few differences in attitudes, so the impact of residence halls seems to be minimal. This apparent lack of relationship is probably so because a room in a residence hall, for a Thai student, is just as impersonal as a boarding room off campus. Davis had already found that even in students' residences especially designed to help foreign students, such as International House in New York, while residents might have experienced real satisfaction with the facilities provided, their attitudes toward the United States remained relatively unchanged.<sup>1</sup>

As for the 64 students living in American homes, given the limitations mentioned above, the following trends can be noted. Their opinions on perceived national status are less explicit; 63 percent chose the neutral answer. They seem to be slightly more religious than the majority. They are much more concerned with occupational security. As many are willing to work in the provinces as are hoping to establish themselves in Bangkok. They are more liberal in their attitudes on dating. They hope to make their own decisions concerning their marriage choice. The most important duty of a wife consists, in their opinion, of being a housewife. They think that both parents should solve family problems. They want to have more children. While there is little difference between them and the other students in their views on matters of education or occupation, it is clear that attitudes on family life are related to the experience of living in an American home.

### Work Experience

It has already been noted that the information gathered on this variable is questionable because of the restrictions imposed on foreign students by the Bureau of Immigration. However, a comparison was made between those subjects who

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<sup>1</sup>Davis, op. cit.

reported they had held jobs in the United States and those who reported they had not. This comparison showed some differences, mainly in the area of occupational values. Those who have had jobs in the United States are more willing to work outside the Bangkok area upon their return. They are also less afraid to face risk in order to obtain a more successful career. Their occupational satisfactions are primarily in terms of their profession, while those who have had no work experience at all are more interested in social work or national affairs. Those working full-time are mainly young doctors who serve as interns or residents. It could be, therefore, that the differences noted here are simply due to differences in fields of study.

### Source of Income

Source of income is a factor related to differences in many areas. In general the students may be divided in two groups: the larger group pays for all their expenses, travel, tuition and board. They represent 61 percent of the respondents. The other group, 39 percent, includes all those who are sponsored by the Thai or the United States government, or some private organization.<sup>1</sup> The source of sponsorship itself seems to make little difference, as shown in a comparison of the group of students who were granted a United States government scholarship, those who were awarded Thai government scholarships, and those who were awarded a scholarship by private organizations, foundations, or universities.

The fact that scholarship students differ in their attitudes from the self-financed students probably comes from the selection process of the different agencies. It may also be due to the fact that students who seek such opportunities and assistance have specific characteristics which set them apart from the other students.

Sponsored students in general are career people, i.e., doctors, educators, scientists, or future government officials. They are security conscious. They think of their profession as an opportunity to use their aptitudes. They come from various parts of the country and expect to return to these different areas to work there.

Students financed by their families are found more often in business and engineering schools. They tend to

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<sup>1</sup>For further details on the source of income of Thai students in the United States, see Table 9.

come from Bangkok, where most wealthy families live, and they expect to go back there, except for 9 percent who wish to stay abroad. They have lived in a more competitive world, and therefore are more willing to take risks in order to obtain certain advantages in life. An important requirement of their future occupation is the opportunity to work free from supervision.

The general conclusion that can be drawn from an analysis of the sponsored students' answers is that they are a group of intelligent and knowledgeable people who would probably rate high on a standard intelligence test. They have clear concepts about the deity and Buddha; their outlook in life is more rational and they do not attach too much importance to religion, which for them is more a national symbol than the expression of a higher reality. They rank teacher, doctor, government official, and monk as the four most important occupations. They know that serious teaching cannot be improvised, and that it requires long hours of preparation. In some ways they are more self-sufficient: they make their own decisions on the question of choosing a marriage partner. They solve their problems alone or with the help of a friend of the same sex.

The self-supporting students are probably more concerned with wealth than with intellectual endeavors. Their religious ideals tend to be more confused. In many ways they are closer to the traditional weltanschauung of the Thai in the areas surveyed here. They are more religiously inclined. Buddhist monkhood is ranked by them as the most important occupation, ahead of teaching and medicine. They want to preserve their individualistic Thai character in their future occupation. Their views on courtship and marriage are more conservative; they are more willing to acknowledge their parents' authority in their own lives.

These are, in broad terms, the characteristics of the group of scholarship grantees and those of the group of students who are not financed by any organization. It is difficult to say to what extent these differences of financial support among the two groups are related to differences of attitudes emerging while the students live in the United States. It is possible that these characteristics persist through the years abroad. Students can hardly forget who pays the bills. Moreover, in cases where scholarships entail obligations after graduation, occupational plans and values are likely to be affected thereby.

## Affectivity Variables

Affectivity refers to the attractiveness of the environment upon the attitudes of the students. In this section the affective loading of the students' environment is analyzed under the aspect of perceived national status and status satisfaction, and under the aspect of academic satisfaction.

### Perceived National Status and Status Satisfaction

Perceived national status was measured by the reactions of the students on a five point scale of agreement to three statements on cultural and economic standards, and on the foreign policy of the United States toward Thailand. The questions were as follows:

- No. 15. How do you think people in the United States rank Thailand on economic development?
- No. 17. How do you think people in the United States rank Thailand on cultural standards?
- No. 19. The policy of the United States toward Thailand reflects understanding and respect?

The questions concerning national status seemed to have aroused great interest among the respondents. Several students added their own comments to their choice of answer. These comments all carried the same message; there is a general feeling among Thai students that the American people do not know much about Thailand. One of them said: "Most of the American people don't understand anything about Thailand; they are not even interested in our country."

Occasionally, this reaction was negative. Another student remarked: "The American people think that we, in Thailand, are uncivilized and backward." Some students felt that this lack of knowledge, or negative attitude, might be due to racial prejudice on the part of the Americans. On the other hand, there was some recognition that educated people accept cultural differences, and therefore can see the values of a culture such as that of Thailand. Moreover, students who met Americans who had traveled in Thailand admitted that these people had a higher regard for their own country.

As far as the economy of Thailand is concerned, the Thai students realized that this is not the aspect of

their country which is usually the focus of attention on the part of foreigners. One student reported: "So far I have never met anyone who talked to me about the economy of my country. They always talk about the culture and customs of Thailand, but not about its economic development."

The reaction of most of the students to the foreign policy of the United States in Thailand was favorable. The few negative comments could be summed up in this remark by one of the students: "I don't think that the American people really understand, or think very highly, of Thailand. This applies to about 95 percent of the American people."

The analysis of perceived national status was done in the following way: those who consistently reacted in a negative way on Questions 15, 17 and 19 were grouped together. Similarly, those who reacted positively on all three questions, and those who consistently answered in a neutral way, were grouped together. There were 32 students who thus had a low perceived national status, 50 who had a high perceived national status, and 140 who rated themselves as average. Although, because of the small numbers, this analysis did not produce any significant difference, it indicated the general tendency of the students to answer one way or the other. For instance, students who tended to have a high perceived national status, also tended to answer in a positive way on all questions where they were asked to agree or disagree, regardless of the content of the question. Similarly, students with a low perceived national status tended to answer negatively to the same questions. This phenomenon indicates that high or low perceived national status might be simply the manifestation of a positivistic or negativistic frame of mind.

### Academic Satisfaction

This variable was measured by the answers of the respondents to one question, number 14, asking how they felt about the academic experience at the university they were attending. The overwhelming majority, 80.9 percent, are either very satisfied or satisfied, and only 8 percent are dissatisfied in some ways. Satisfaction is slightly greater with the older students and also with those who have been in the United States longer. Here again, the small frequencies for the negative answers did not make statistical conclusions possible on the relationship between academic satisfaction and attitudes. However, the findings seem consistent with Morris' conclusions of no relationship between national status and academic satisfaction.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Morris, op. cit., p. 137.



The affectivity variables, in general, as Serwell and Davidson pointed out in their own study,<sup>1</sup> are related to motivation and personality factors. These variables reflect a personal characteristic of the individual, a tendency to react in a certain way, rather than a set of attitudes related to a specific environment. Such a conclusion would imply, for instance, that a student with a low perceived national status in the United States would be likely to have the same status in France or England. It would also imply that such an individual would tend to react negatively to any kind of environment.

### Demographic Variables

Of all the variables studied, sex and age are those which differentiate most on the items of the questionnaire. Status involves certain expectations of actions or attitudes on the part of those who belong to a specific group. It was therefore to be expected that attitudes also would vary for the different sexes and age groups.

### Sex

Men and women differ on most of the questions in the areas of occupational values and attitudes on courtship and family life, while sex differences hardly exist in the realms of religion and education.

Thai males are less sentimental than their female counterparts. They are more likely to base their lives on reason and ethics. They value intelligence and personal initiative, and they tend to make their judgments and reasons more explicit. They are more willing to take risks even at the cost of some security. They show more interest in national affairs, and a good number of them expect to work in government positions. Their conception of women is somewhat egotistical, i.e., they think of women in relation to the pleasure or advantages they might derive from their companionship.

The Thai female students manifest their feelings more easily, while in matters of judgment they tend to be

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<sup>1</sup>William H. Serwell and Oluf M. Davidson, Scandinavian Students on an American Campus (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961).

noncommittal. Appearance, for a good number of them, is more important than values like intelligence. They are more security-inclined, and would rather settle for a quiet and frugal life than face risks. They are family oriented; this is one of their primary concerns, evident in their attitudes on courtship, and on the role of the woman in the home. In general they tend to be conservative and to maintain the traditional values of the country. Their attitudes on family life suggest that they are less ego-centered. They tend to help people and select the occupations that will make this goal possible, such as teaching and nursing.

These characteristics, revealed in the choice of answers of men and women in the questionnaire, confirm the analysis of sex differences in Thai society made by Ruth Benedict. "The most revealing of all Thai summaries of male and female character," she says, "is the proverb which is on every tongue: Man is paddy, woman is rice, i.e., man is the seed rice able to reproduce itself, woman is rice polished for eating."<sup>1</sup> Fertility, by Thai definition, is ascribed to men. Women "provide a nest for the child in the womb and nourish their children, but they do not have the virtue of creativity in themselves."<sup>2</sup>

### Age

Speaking of the physiological determinants of status, Blanchard noted that, of sex and age, the latter in Thailand is by far the more important of the two. "Age automatically commands respect, and this respect is the dominant theme of any relationship into which an age difference enters."<sup>3</sup> The importance of the age factor is reflected in the process of attitude change. Of all the variables studied, it is the one which differentiates most among the subjects of the survey.

The students, as mentioned earlier, were classified in four age categories. In general, the younger the students the more idealistic they are in their view of reality.

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<sup>1</sup>Ruth Benedict, Thai Culture and Behavior, Data Paper Number 4 (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1952), p. 40.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 405.

They accept authority less easily and they strive to work independently of supervision. Their professional goals are less clearly specified; many of them do not yet have an exact idea of the kind of work they will be engaged in after their education is over. In matters of religion, they tend to accept the traditional beliefs of their country, yet show little understanding of the important concepts of their faith. In the area of attitudes on courtship and family life, these younger students accept the authority of parents more easily. Many of them believe that parents should be consulted before choosing a marriage partner. They look at dating, not so much as an opportunity to know their future marriage partner, but rather just as a matter of fun.

As students grow older, they become more realistic in their judgments. The perceived national status of the older students tends to be lower and there is less satisfaction with this status. This does not affect their satisfaction with their academic experience, however, since they are more likely to feel that the education that they receive in the United States fulfills their expectations. In terms of religion, they have clear concepts but at the same time they feel less bound by the traditions of their faith. They would like to modernize the religious manifestations of Buddhism.

A great number of older students are preparing to become either teachers or doctors. They show more interest in their profession. Their professional goals are stated in terms of using their talents and finding an opportunity for initiative, rather than in terms of social advantages. The older students are more willing to work outside of Bangkok. They are, however, more concerned with security and less willing to accept risk. They are more independent in their decisions and less concerned about the opinions of their parents. They desire to have more children in their families than the younger students. Dating for them presents the occasion to know someone whom they will marry.

### Region of Origin

Since most students had spent a certain number of years attending institutions of higher learning in Bangkok, their attitudes had already been influenced by the environment of the capital city. This factor, along with mobility of the subjects, made it impractical to examine attitudes resulting from origin in different regions of the country.

## Religion

There are only a few attitude differences among the various religious groups. The vast majority of Thai students are Buddhists. The others include 22 Christians, 3.6 percent of the total population of respondents; 4 Moslems, 0.5 percent; and 17 students who reported having no religious affiliation at all, 1.9 percent. The attitudes of this last group follow the pattern of attitudes of the Buddhist students. The Moslems are too few to compare their answers with any other group.

The Christians differ from the Buddhists in their answers on a few items. One item deals with the existence of the deity. As can be expected, all Christians acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being, while this existence was denied by most of the Buddhists. In Questions 21 and 22, designed to measure the students' concept of Buddha, Christians selected an incorrect response more often than the other students. Finally, in Question 27, students were asked to what extent religious practice was for them a requirement of a good life. Christians reported more frequent church attendance than Buddhists. On all the other questions, however, there was no difference in attitude among the religious groups.

Religious beliefs and attitudes will be discussed at length in Chapter V. The absence of differences among the three major religious groups in Thailand is an indication that a citizen of Thailand is a Thai before being anything else; national identity for these people is a more fundamental determinant of attitude than religious affiliation.

## Fields of Major Interest

The students of the present survey were classified according to their major fields of interest in the eight categories used by the Institute of International Education in its classification of students.<sup>1</sup> In tables using that many categories it becomes impossible to use any kind of statistical test to examine the data for significant differences. However, in spite of this limitation, a brief profile of the attitudes of the students in each category is given below. This does not intend to be a complete description of all the areas surveyed, but rather an outline of the points where members of a certain group differ more noticeably from the others.

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<sup>1</sup>Open Doors: Report on International Exchange (New York: Institute of International Education, 1965), p. 18.

TABLE 12. Rank Order of Nine Occupations By Major Fields Of Study<sup>a</sup>

Major Field of Study	Soldier	Govern- ment Official	Doctor	Workman	Teacher	Monk	Merchant	Nobility	Farmer
Agriculture	5.63	4.32	3.27	6.56	2.70	4.47	6.12	7.25	4.98
Business	4.73	4.70	3.01	6.75	3.17	4.15	3.40	7.37	5.80
Education	4.64	4.44	2.72	7.16	2.91	3.57	5.53	7.04	4.98
Engineering	4.91	4.42	3.06	6.46	2.72	3.68	5.38	7.59	5.11
Humanities	4.41	4.57	3.12	7.01	3.23	3.67	5.72	6.75	5.44
Medicine	4.97	4.32	2.83	6.43	2.93	3.72	5.92	7.26	5.07
Physical Sciences	5.52	4.69	2.89	6.13	2.67	4.02	5.87	7.74	4.39
Social Sciences	5.00	3.99	2.90	6.54	2.81	4.25	5.46	7.57	4.82

<sup>a</sup>The students were asked to rank these nine occupations in order of importance. The results shown here are mean ranks, computed by adding the ranks given by each respondent in the group and by dividing the total thus obtained by the N for the particular group.



Agriculture. Students majoring in agriculture form a group apart when compared to the rest of the Thai students in the United States. These students are different in many ways. Eighty-six percent are men, and they are older than the other students. They seldom stay in the United States for more than a year, during which time 72 percent seek a master's degree. Their studies are sponsored either by a government agency, 58 percent, or by a private agency, 26 percent.

The agriculture students differ from the rest of the academic community because of the nature of their specialization which is concerned with concrete and very practical problems such as farming, fishing, or forestry. By and large, they are the group most satisfied with their academic experience abroad. All are Buddhist and most believe in going to the temple occasionally.

A number of them will become government officials but at least 50 percent are expecting to go back to the countryside where they are needed. They are not as security conscious as many other students; they are willing to take risks in the hope of some accrued advantages, much like the farmer who dares to entrust to the ground his best grain. Many think that getting a job depends on luck as well as on intelligence or experience. They are interested in the affairs of the nation. They favor work for women without restriction, but they might have in mind the kind of work women do in the villages or on the farms, which differs from work as understood by other professions. In the areas of education and family life their attitudes are more conservative. They are less in favor of democracy in university matters. They believe in dating according to the traditional Thai way, or in the presence of parents and relatives.

Business Administration. Sixty-three percent of students in business seek a bachelor's degree only. In 96 percent of all cases, their families pay for their education. In many ways they resemble the average Thai citizen. Their religious concepts are not too clear but they feel one should occasionally go to the temple to "make merit." They think that getting a job depends on education, probably one of their main reasons for going abroad. The majority, 70 percent, are from Bangkok, and this is where they want to return. However, 17 percent would like to remain abroad. They rank the occupation of merchant higher than the other students do.

Education. Students in education are the only group in which females dominate, 60 percent to 40 percent. They are older than the average student; all of them are working

for a degree, 70 percent for a master's degree. Almost 60 percent receive scholarships.

As a group they present a very distinctive picture. They have the lowest perceived national status. Their religious concepts are clear: as true Buddhists they reject the idea of a personal God and acknowledge Buddha as simply a religious master. None of them want to stay abroad and many are willing to go to the provinces to teach. They are security-conscious people. They rate the profession of doctor higher than their own. Getting a job depends on abilities and also on experience. They are interested in helping people and in activities with social implications. In education they favor democratic practices. For them the paramount goal of education is the pursuit of knowledge.

In attitudes on courtship and family life they are a conservative group; many think of dating according to the traditional Thai way or with a chaperone. Those who accept the idea of dating alone do so in cases where people are thinking of marriage. They put great stock in family life.

Engineering. This is a man's world with only five girls in a group of 98 engineering students. Half the group were undergraduates. Only 25 percent are scholarship grantees.

Except for a few items, these students' attitudes are similar to those of the average Thai student in the United States, and therefore the analysis in the following chapters applies to them more closely than to other groups. As a group they are less security conscious than most.

Humanities. This group of students is distinctive in many ways. They are the youngest; 70 percent are under 25. They have the largest proportion of non-degree seeking students, 24 percent; 45 percent are undergraduate, and only 4 percent are doctoral candidates. Sponsored students are few.

The general impression is that this group has less depth and seriousness than the others, although the attitudes suggesting this impression could just be a consequence of youth. They have the highest perceived national status. Their ideas about the divinity or Buddha are confused; temple affairs seem to be unimportant to them. Seventy-one percent come from Bangkok and most want to return, although 14 percent would rather remain abroad. They rank the occupations of soldier and nobility higher than the other students do, and that of workman lower. Twenty-three percent

think a twelve-hour teaching week requires a preparation time of only six hours. They view dating as a time for fun and socializing. They show less independence of their parents and are more willing to consult them and take their advice.

Medical Sciences This group includes young doctors and nurses. It is the largest group and obviously an older one with 66 percent of the students over 29 years of age. Sixty percent are men, and over 60 percent are undergoing post-graduate training; 40 percent are sponsored by governments or private agencies.

These students are a professionally oriented group. The most satisfying thing in life for many is their profession and they think of education as preparation for a specific occupation. They know that education is a difficult task and requires much preparation time. They rate their own profession the highest. By and large their attitudes conform to that of the average student in this population.

Physical Sciences This group has the widest range of age. It has a large proportion of men, 77 percent. These students are willing to work in the city or in the provinces in proportions similar to that of their place of origin; less than 5 percent would like to remain abroad.

Their perceived national status is low, especially in terms of economic standards. In religious matters they seem to care less than others and rely more on their own system of ethical philosophy. They are an independent group who solve their problems by themselves.

Social Sciences Of all the groups of major fields, this one is the least uniform, for it includes a variety of subjects such as history, law, public administration, psychology, and sociology. This group includes many future civil servants, over 70 percent. Two-thirds of these students are male; 72 percent are graduate students, and 43 percent have scholarships.

They are not a very religious group; they wish for changes in such traditional Thai institutions as the Buddhist monkhood. Their lives tend to be based more on natural ethics or philosophy. After the education students, they are the most security-conscious group. They rank government officials above monks in the scale of occupations. The ideal teacher for them is a person who can command respect, while for most other groups he is someone who is open-minded or knowledgeable. Faced with regulations conflicting with their beliefs, 27 percent would rather try to change the rule to accommodate it to themselves.

## V. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The importance of the study of religious beliefs and values of Thai students is based on the central role played by Buddhism in Thai society and on the relationship between religious attitudes and socio-economic advancement. The intent of the present chapter is to examine the evolution of these attitudes among a group of students living in a totally different religious environment.

Religion is the relationship between man and a superior being. It involves attitudes and behavior based on personal beliefs in such a superhuman or divine power. The word religion, however, as applied to the Thai, implies a sense of national identity and refers to a way of life which finds its justification in Theravada Buddhism. Religion in Thailand is truly an expression of national character, and could be explained in terms of historical contingencies and ideological influences from India and China.

Blanchard remarked, "Religion is not only a visible agency in Thai life, but a germinal one as well. Buddhist values permeate the culture, and religion is the historic wellspring from which flow the nations' metaphysics, its art and literature, its ethic and morality, and many of its morals, folkways, and festivals."<sup>1</sup>

The unquestionable importance of Thai Buddhism and its influence in the daily lives of the people make it imperative for a study of attitudes among Thai students to include items on religious beliefs. In keeping with the exploratory character of the present research, only some of the main concepts of this religious system have been studied, that is, Lord Buddha, monkhood, "merit-making," and the degree of concern with religious matters in general. Because the United States, where the students are now living, is a country where the idea of a Supreme Being is generally taken for granted, one question was also included on this subject.

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<sup>1</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 12.



### Existence of the Deity

In Question 20, the students were asked which of four statements was most representative of their own beliefs concerning the existence of a Supreme Being. The first two statements acknowledged the existence of such a Supreme Being; the first was a description of a personal God who maintains an active concern for human affairs, and the second was in terms of a Supreme Being about whom nothing definite is known. The third possible choice was the philosophical position of a skeptic who holds that, because of our ignorance in these matters, there are no grounds for either affirming or denying the existence of a God. Finally, the fourth choice was a rejection of any belief in such a Being.

Because of the nature of this question the data were analyzed separately for Buddhists and Christians. The majority of the Buddhist students deny the existence of God and consider the notion of a Supreme Being as fiction. But, as students remain longer in this country, their position seems to have weakened slightly. Although the trend is not statistically significant, it is nonetheless worth notice, because the notion of a Supreme Being is foreign to Buddhist teachings. "Buddhism has no God," clearly states a student. Therefore it is to be expected that the great majority of Buddhist students would either deny the existence of a Supreme Being or at least withhold judgment, finding no adequate grounds for either affirming or denying such an existence. However, possibly as a result of their contact with a religious system which acknowledges the existence of God, the traditional position of Buddhism on this point seems to be altered in a few instances.

A student qualified his answer by saying, "I should keep my mind open because in the future someone might be able to prove the existence of a Supreme Being." Another explained his position in these words: "A Supreme Being is to be believed in because there are things in the world beyond the control of man, things that cannot be explained."

This trend is all the more unusual since an analysis of the data by age shows that the older the students are, the more they tend to deny the existence of the divinity. Almost half of the younger students found no particular reason to take a definite position in these matters. But as they grow older, doubts seem to disappear and they deny the existence of God altogether in much larger numbers.

The answers of Christian students to Question 20 lead to different conclusions. Obviously, Christians acknowledge



a Supreme Being. Because of the small number of subjects it is difficult to come to any conclusions on trends evolving while these students live abroad. It should be noted, however, that among Christian students there is a certain degree of confusion. The Christian God is a personal God who indeed maintains an active concern for human affairs. However, one-third of these Christian students either report that they acknowledge a Supreme Being about whom nothing definite is known, or they withhold judgment. If any trend is to be observed here, in spite of the limitation already mentioned, Christian students seem to come to a more orthodox conception of a Supreme Being, as their stay in this country is extended.

Generally speaking, the American experience of Thai students is related, to a certain degree, to their belief concerning the Deity. The data do not lead to any compelling conclusion, however, there is an apparent trend which indicates that the longer the exposure, the more likely the students are to accept the Christian conception of the Deity as found in American society.

### Conception of Lord Buddha

Buddha is the founder of the Buddhist religion. The thousands of temples and shrines in Thailand with their statues of Buddha indicate immediately the importance of the role played by this figure. According to the original Theravada tradition, and to historical evidence available today, Buddha, literally he who knows, was a Hindu wiseman by the name of Gotama who lived in the second half of the sixth century B.C. in northern India, close to Nepal. He was a man who, through his own personal efforts, reached a deep understanding of the human condition, and more specifically of the law of suffering to which mankind is subjected. He taught a way to be relieved from this suffering condition, and to reach a perfect equanimity of soul. Gotama, after having fulfilled his mission as a master, was freed from individual existence.

There is no unanimity among Buddhist believers on the present state of Buddha. James Pratt says, "The average devout layman believes as a matter of course that the Buddha is a kind of god in heaven who dwells in eternal bliss, who is conscious and sees our offerings and hears our prayers. The less-educated among the monks share the same view. The more learned monks, on the other hand, know perfectly well that the Buddha is in Nibban, and neither

sees, hears, nor knows anything."<sup>1</sup> Nibban is a state in which one becomes part of the universe without any individuating personality.

Students were asked two questions concerning their idea of Lord Buddha. Both questions were statements to which an answer of true or false had to be given. The first statement, Item 21, said that "Buddha is a kind of Supreme Being who sees our good deeds and hears our prayers." The wording of this question presented some problem. The Thai do not have a generic word corresponding immediately to the concept of Supreme Being; they use the word Pra-poo-bpen-jow, which refers unequivocally to the idea of the Christian God. Therefore, the incompatibility between the two concepts of Buddha and Supreme Being should have been immediately evident. One respondent even noted, "This question shows that you do not understand anything about Buddhism; Buddha has nothing to do with the idea of God as every Thai knows."

The second statement, Item 22, repeated the same idea as the first, but in a negative form. It said that "Buddha is not a God and is not aware at the present time of the needs and desires of man." Here again the wording was strong and clear and should have elicited the right answer on the part of an individual knowing the elementary notions of such fundamental religious concepts.

A response consonant with traditional Buddhist beliefs should have been negative in the first instance, and affirmative in the second. In both cases, there were a surprisingly large number of students who gave a wrong answer. No trend is apparent in an analysis by length of stay in the United States, contrary to what might have been expected. Because of the happenings of recent years in Southeast Asia and the Buddhist involvement in some of the political turmoils, Thai students, Southeast Asian and Buddhist themselves, have undoubtedly been the target of the questions of many inquiring Americans. This probing might have forced them to clarify their beliefs. But the number of right answers remains more or less constant. The only apparent trend is that an increasing number of students do not respond to these items. This fact might indicate a growing lack of interest in these matters, unless there is a general tendency among students who have been longer in the United States not to answer this kind of question.

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<sup>1</sup>James Bissett Pratt, The Pilgrimage of Buddhism (New York: Macmillan Co., 1928), p. 166.

Buddhism is probably not as important to Thai students living in America. The temples and the gilded gaze of Gotama are not omnipresent, as in Thailand, to remind them of Buddhist traditional beliefs. From interviews with Thai students, and also from the findings of the pilot study, it was found that Buddhist students almost never find an occasion for any external expression of their beliefs. There was only one instance where a domestic shrine to Buddha had been set in the room of a student, a universal practice in Thailand. On the other hand, the climate of many campuses in the United States brings about among a large number of their students in general, if not rebellious reactions, at least indifference.<sup>1</sup> It is not astonishing, therefore, that many Thai students do not clarify their religious concepts while living in the United States.

#### The Monk: His Function, His Way of Life, His Role

The Buddhist monkhood is undoubtedly the most respected institution in Thailand and is very close to the heart of the people. Along with Buddha and the Dharma (the moral law) it constitutes the most sacred element of this religious system. "The Buddhist religion is central to the thought and concept of the Thai population, and next to royalty, the Buddhist monks are the most honored and most respected persons in the society. The honor and respect applies to the entire group, not just to individuals."<sup>2</sup> There are literally hundreds of thousands of saffron-robed monks and novices who live in the temples and shrines of the country.<sup>3</sup> Monks serve as a living moral and ethical example of the precepts of the Buddhists.

Question 23 asked the students their opinion on the function of monks in modern times. There were four positive and three negative answers to this question. The positive answers described monks as keepers of church tra-

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<sup>1</sup>Educational Reviewer, Inc., "A Survey of the Political and Religious Attitudes of American College Students," National Review (October 8, 1963), p. 291.

<sup>2</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>3</sup>In 1963 there were 234,204 priests and novices. Office of the Prime Minister, op. cit., p. 459.

ditions, teachers of morals, ministers of rites, and confidants. The negative answers pictured monks as people who don't do anything, who waste the national labor potential, or who use religion as a means of livelihood. The actual answers show that Buddhist monks are still highly respected by Thai university students. Less than 4 percent answered negatively, indicating that monks represent either a loss of labor potential for the country, or that they are simply parasites. The monks are seen first as teachers of morals, and also as instruments to preserve the traditions of the Buddhist church. However, as students remain longer in this country there is a shift of emphasis. They come to think more of the monks in terms of teachers of morals, and less as keepers of ecclesiastical traditions.

This change in emphasis on the functions of the monk can also be explained in terms of the international experience of the students. It is possible that when the Thai students are exposed to a pragmatic society such as the American one, they tend to reevaluate some of the traditional institutions of their country in terms of useful goals. For a man to become a monk in order to preserve the tradition of one's faith only doesn't seem to be enough. But that the monk should be a teacher who makes it possible for people to lead a more moral life appears to be a purpose more easily justifiable in pragmatic terms.

The expression, teacher of morals, should be given as broad a meaning as possible. It would be more accurate to say a teacher of the Thai way of life. Morals in this sense are taught in all the schools in Thailand and the government even provides textbooks entitled Seen-la-tam, i.e., Moral Code. Good manners as well as religious behavior are covered. Therefore, the expression morals has a civic and patriotic undertone. Within this context, and also in view of the fact that students away from their own country have probably a greater appreciation of their own culture, it is understandable that a greater need is felt for some instrument to maintain this culture.

In Question 25, Thai students were asked whether there should be any change in the Buddhist monks' way of life. They were given a choice of three answers:

Monks should strictly follow their traditional way of life.

The monks' way of life should be changed but only for what truly needs to be changed.

The monks' way of life should be greatly changed, but without change in the essential Buddhist moral teachings.



Most students thought that monks should adapt themselves to the exigencies of modern times. There was no indication as to what the specific changes should be, but the general consensus was imposing. Although most students did not wish for radical changes, they felt that some kind of adaptation is necessary in order to meet the demands of today's society. This desire for change is not related to length of stay in the United States.

Finally, in Question 26, Thai students were asked what role Buddhist monks should fulfill today in order to benefit the people. The respondents were given the following possibilities: monks can benefit the people as leaders, preachers, advisors, comforters, priests or ministers of rites, fortune-tellers, appeasers in times of distress by the use of some holy object. There was also an "other" category, and one which stated that monks are not important at all. The great majority answered that the monk's role should be to teach people to behave well.

Two comments to this question might clarify the meaning of the answers. One student said: "The role of the monk is to preserve Thai culture." Another student reported, "A monk should be a good example for the people, and sacrifice his life for the good of religion and country." Therefore, when students answered that the role of the monk today is to teach good behavior, they understood that they should help people become good citizens. Again one finds a mixture of moral ideals and patriotism. No significant trend was found here in an analysis by length of exposure to the American environment. A slight tendency seemed to develop among those who had been abroad longer. They emphasized more the role of the monk as minister of ceremonies and less his role as teacher. One could see in this slight change an influence of Western culture where the role of a religious minister is usually seen in connection with liturgical functions.

Attitudes on the Buddhist monkhood show two trends: nationalism and change. It is an institution still valued by the educated class for its role as an agent of the Thai culture. At the same time there is a desire for modernization. A further exploration of these aspirations would not only make an interesting study but be of great value to those concerned with the Buddhist church in Thailand and Thai civilization in general.



### "Merit-Making"

Religious behavior in Thailand is manifested through "merit-making" activities. The Buddhist idea of "merit-making" should be understood within the conceptual framework of karma. "Central to all Thai concepts of supernatural beings, supernatural power, and existence is the principle of karma, the guiding power or law of the universe. Buddhists believe that every act, word, or thought has its consequences, which appear sooner or later in the present or in some future state. Evil acts have evil consequences.... Good acts produce good consequences."<sup>1</sup>

Making merit is the way to accumulate good deeds to compensate for the iniquities of the past and prepare for a better future state of existence. Among the most popular ways of "merit-making" are feeding the monks and going to the temples. Serving in the priesthood is a source of merit par excellence. Releasing caged birds or animals, plastering gold leaf on a statue of the Buddha, or contributing to the construction of a new temple, all these are sources of merit. Blanchard notes that perhaps as much as 25 percent of the average rural family's cash outlay goes to merit-making.<sup>2</sup>

In Question 24, Thai students were asked what they thought the most appropriate motive for "merit-making" was. The possible answers to this item were happiness in the next world, charity, happiness, support of the Church, fear of losing face, for deceased ancestors, and it is not important. The two main motives selected by the respondents were charity and personal happiness. Charity here is to be interpreted in terms of the Buddhist Metta and Karuna. Metta is similar to the Christian virtue of charity and involves the love of mankind for the sake of humanity, as well as a general willingness to be kind and helpful. Karuna is sympathy or pity for those who are suffering. It involves the desire to help those who have fallen on bad days and the willingness to sacrifice one's own personal advantage or happiness for others.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 94.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>3</sup>David A. Wilson, Politics in Thailand (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 78.

Charity as a motive for "merit-making" is more in accordance with Buddhist ideals, however personal happiness is the ultimate goal, since the love of neighbor and respect for life are but means to extinguish whatever evil or Karma one might still carry within himself. The older the students in this population, the more they become concerned with personal happiness as a main motive for "merit-making."<sup>1</sup> In the analysis by length of stay in the United States, no particular trend can be observed.

### Religiousness

A measure of the students' religiousness was obtained by two questions, one on the importance of Buddhism, and the other on the kind of religious practice considered essential to a good life. On this topic Blanchard remarks, "The great emotional attachment that all Thai have to the doctrine and rite of the Buddhist Order is an essential base of their lives; Buddhism is constantly woven into their thoughts and actions. The wat is the religious and social center of the Thai community; the average Thai, both rural and urban, accepts unquestionably the importance of its spiritual, emotional role in his daily life and supports it through his contribution and labor."<sup>1</sup> The answers of the students differ somewhat from this statement.

In Item 27 the students were asked to complete the sentence: "My life will be perfect and meaningful (som-boon) if..." Six choices were given indicating degrees of frequency of temple attendance:

I do not believe in religion but rely on ethics or philosophy alone.

I believe in religion but do not go to church.

I believe in religion but go to church occasionally.

I believe in religion and go to church often.

I believe in religion and go to church daily.

I do not think that any of the above statements will make my life perfect.

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<sup>1</sup>Blanchard, loc. cit.

The pattern of answers is uniform for all age groups and also for the various groups having had different lengths of exposure to the American environment. Approximately half of the students answered that they will consider their lives to be good if they believe in religion and go to the temple occasionally. There are, however, many students who do not think that there is any relation between their own personal perfection and their faith and religious practice. A few students commented that Buddhism is primarily a philosophical system, an explanation of man and the universe. Others mentioned that they were concerned with Buddhism only insofar as it helped them to lead a morally good life. "All the six possible alternatives mentioned here are not really necessary at all; if you lead a good moral life, that is enough."

If any conclusion is to be drawn from the data on this item, it is that the wat, or temple, which was the center of Thai life has lost its importance to almost 50 percent of the future leaders of the country. It is possible that Buddhism, which many Thai students still proclaim to be their way of life, is actually only a remote rationalization for some kind of pragmatism which finds its manifestation in a natural morality which would, otherwise, be devoid of a ritualistic or symbolic expression.

The second item, designed to measure the students' religiousness, Question 28, asked the students why they thought Buddhism is important. There were seven possible answers to this item.

To bring about unity of mind in the country.

To give happiness to the people.

To induce people to love peace.

To give the country a symbol.

To lead people toward Nirvana.

To help people think rationally.

To insure a better hereafter.

Although the logical answer should have been Nirvana, or Nibban, happiness was the most frequent choice. The ultimate and most important goal of all human endeavor in Buddhism is Nibban. This is the state reached by the individual when, after a series of personal efforts, he finally acquires such a degree of equanimity that he no longer ex-

periences desires or passions and therefore is no longer subject to suffering<sup>a</sup>. It is a state which is achieved gradually, and which finds its fulfillment only in death<sup>a</sup>. But for fun-loving people like the Thai, this is a somber goal to keep in mind. Therefore, when the students were asked about the importance of Buddhism, less than 30 percent answered Nibban. Forty percent selected personal happiness. This is an attitude which remains stable and is not related either to age or to length of stay in the United States.

It has often been observed by sociologists or anthropologists that everything the Thai do has to be sanuk, including religious activities<sup>a</sup>. Sanuk means to have fun, to enjoy oneself, to have a good time.<sup>1</sup> Ayal noted, "Thus the Thai view life as something to be enjoyed here and now with very little thought about future complications<sup>a</sup>. The only possible exception is the concern about one's Karma, but since the means employed are made as sanuk as possible, it is not really an exception."<sup>2</sup> This characteristic of the Thai is probably what leads them to select happiness as a reason for the importance of Buddhism, rather than Nibban, the hereafter, or some more abstract motive<sup>a</sup>.

Generally speaking, the religious beliefs of Thai students in the United States, as explored in the questionnaire, remain stable throughout their international experience<sup>a</sup>. Answers on the acceptance of a Supreme Being and on the nature of Buddha indicate a certain confusion in the students' religious concepts<sup>a</sup>. Many students feel that the Buddhist church is in need of adaptation to the demands of a modern society, and this trend is manifested through the desire for changes in the way of life of Buddhist monks<sup>a</sup>.

Beyond these general traits it seems possible to detect a system of values that could be defined in terms of a sense of national identity. Thai people have been noted for their adequate and stable self-concept of which Buddhism is seemingly but a symbolic expression. There is nothing compulsive in this nationalism; it is simply a fact of life for a nation which has been master of its own destiny for centuries. The Thai "have a very fully-developed sense of nationality, an amalgam of the ideas of sharing a common land, a common language, a common religion, all under one

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<sup>1</sup>Mary R. Haas, Thai-English Student's Dictionary (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 520.

<sup>2</sup>Ayal, op. cit., p. 47.

king. While fully developed, this nationalism is not aggressive or exclusive. It is the quiet and confident attitude of a people who value their way of life, but who have no wish to impose it on others."<sup>1</sup>

Because of this quiet self-reliance there have seldom been open clashes between Thai Buddhism and other faiths. The Thai easily grant that other religions are the expression of noble and admirable philosophies of life. But they feel that their own views are equally good. Such a basic system of values, perceived in terms of national identity and acceptance of others as they are, without anxiety or compulsion, is less exposed to shock and also to change. This is one possible explanation for the stability of the data obtained. Another interpretation is that religious values as such, having little bearing on the daily life of the students, remain unaffected by the environment of American academic communities which are themselves little concerned with religious questions. A comparison of this position with that of the Thai people in general, as described in the anthropological studies summed up by Blanchard, shows that the population of Thai students in America has already moved away from the traditional religious concerns of Thailand towards a system of values which tends to be less religious, and more naturalistic and nationalistic.

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<sup>1</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 13.



## VI. OCCUPATIONAL VALUES

International students become an active factor in the developmental process of their countries through the occupations they enter. An analysis of trends in their occupational choices and values might therefore help to foresee the direction of influence after their return home. In Thailand the role played by the foreign-trained elite is all the more important given the particular makeup of the Thai society. Mosel, in his study of Thai administrative behavior, has very appropriately noted:

It is traditional that socio-political change be initiated by the top political leadership--the King during the early absolute monarchy, the King and royal princes during the later absolute monarchy, and today by a small "junta" of the political elite. There have been no popular movements, pressure groups, political parties, or formal organizations outside of government such as trade unions, student agitation or a politically-minded church, to press for reforms. The flow of social and political influence in Thailand has always been a one-way street--from top to bottom--with very little feedback in the upward direction.<sup>1</sup>

Students surveyed in this study are part of the future elite of Thailand. Their training abroad marks them as privileged experts whose services will be highly sought in many positions of influence. In this chapter an effort is made to understand the meaning of work and career for Thai students in the United States. This area is covered by nine items of the questionnaire; students are asked questions on values related to careers, questions on their own occupational choices, questions on the conditions in which they expect to work, and finally, they are asked their opinions on the problem of women and careers.

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<sup>1</sup>Mosel, op. cit. p. 281.

## Occupational Images

The Cornell study on college students has pointed out the importance of images in the intricate process of occupational selection.<sup>1</sup> Students tend to form judgments on the distinctive demands and rewards of each occupation and select their own careers accordingly.

In Chapter III it was noted that the fields of major interest of Thai students in the United States are a reflection of the status-achieving mechanisms of the Thai society itself. Job opportunities are restricted mainly to the areas of government and education, and it is in these careers that a future professional seeks prestige, once the exclusive prerogative of royalty. Government officials share in the privileges of the dominant group, even though in practice they do not have any real power. Teachers have also been traditionally highly respected, mainly because education is the door to civil service. The ability of the dominant group to exercise power depends, at least in the procedures of bureaucracy, upon superior know-how in the forms and methods of government.

Guskin, who has been an instructor for two years at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, reports:

Traditionally, a teacher is viewed as an expert who is correct in everything he utters; students attempt to take verbatim notes of whatever the teacher says in class; they will not leave a class before the teacher does; and often, at the beginning and end of class, they will waj (salute) in respect to the teacher. These signs of respect for the status of the teacher exist in the teacher training colleges and in the university, as well as at other levels of education.<sup>2</sup>

Occupational image in this survey was determined by a single measure. Item 37 asked the students to rank nine occupations in order of importance, without further specification. A mean score was computed for each occupation by adding together the ranks given by all the members of each group of students.

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<sup>1</sup>Goldsen et al, op. cit. p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>Guskin, op. cit. p. 39.

TABLE 13. Rank Order of Nine Occupations By Length of Stay In The United States<sup>a</sup>

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Months in the United States	Soldier	Govern- ment Official	Doctor	Workman	Teacher	Monk	Merchant	Nobility	Farmer
1- 6	4.72	4.23	3.25	7.44	2.62	3.67	5.83	7.22	5.43
7-18	5.78	4.49	2.92	6.69	3.34	3.98	5.73	7.36	4.89
19-30	5.01	4.62	2.88	6.47	2.91	3.79	5.80	7.37	5.05
31-54	5.06	4.28	3.00	6.51	2.68	4.23	5.07	7.30	5.07
55-over	4.72	4.35	2.96	6.37	3.00	4.31	4.81	7.16	4.93

<sup>a</sup>These figures are mean scores obtained by dividing the sum of ranks for each occupation by the number of individuals in each category. A low score indicates a high rank.

The results show that the teaching profession still holds its prestige with no attitude change during the years abroad. However, the career of government official is ranked much lower than some anthropological studies have suggested. Such a difference is not attributable to foreign influences since Guskin obtained approximately the same result with his own sampling of students. Guskin commented that, "In the past, people have assumed that they wanted to be government officials. It now seems as if the students are concerned with particular types of occupations more than with being government officials per se."<sup>1</sup> It also reflects the recent broadening of the Thai society involving new complexities not only of government but also of industry, economy, and education. Moreover, since the 1932 overthrow of the absolute power of the King, government has been mostly in the hands of the military and civilians have been restricted to bureaucratic functions. It is significant, for that matter, that the careers of government official and that of soldier are ranked one after the other, in fourth and fifth place respectively.

Doctors are ranked almost equal with teachers. A doctor, like a teacher, is a man of knowledge and he deserves the respect of the members of the community. Besides, health, like education, is a measure of the degree of development of a country and is therefore highly valued. A third reason, also mentioned by Guskin,<sup>2</sup> is that a doctor deals with life and death. Any man who has the power to cure, whether it be through the magic formulas of less enlightened ages, or through the sophisticated techniques of modern hospitals, deserves indeed the respect of his fellow men.

The monk is always ranked in third place. This would seem to indicate that the educated class has already moved a certain distance away from the attitudes of the traditional Thai society. Blanchard noted, "The Buddhist monkhood, the Sangkha (Buddhist church), remains the most respected institution in society and much closer to the hearts of the people than is the government. The monks represent the Thai's cultural ideals; the head priest of the wat, by virtue of his position and personality traits, can be the most influential, respected, and important individual in the local community."<sup>3</sup> The tendency to devalue the Buddhist monk-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>3</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 491.

hood seems to be reinforced by the experience of studies abroad, as the figures in Table 13 show. As the number of years abroad increases, the monkhood is gradually given a lower mean rank.

The three lowest occupations in this scale, besides nobility, are those of merchant, farmer, and workman. As noted in Guskin's study, there is the general feeling among students that selling things or working with one's hands is something that only people of low status do. The same study quotes Zinkin who said, "In Asia the merchant is traditionally ranked below the warrior and the priest...the process of making business respectable has in Asia only just begun."<sup>1</sup> But these occupations are enhanced in the minds of students who have spent a longer period of time abroad. In the American society there is surely no stigma attached to the career of businessman. As for workmen and farmers, modern labor conditions in the United States make these occupations very respectable ones and often very lucrative. It seems that Thai students tend to accept these views more easily, although not fully.

Nobility is considered last, except by the group of recently arrived students. Among nobles are included all those not in the immediate family of the King, but who, through some hereditary ties, can claim royal blood up to five generations. The Thai people have a very high regard for their King and Queen. Several students added a note to make sure that their classification would not be misinterpreted. "The King should come first." But other persons sporting a title of nobility before their names do not make a strong impression on the educated class. This shows that since the revolution of 1932 the democratic idea of equality has taken firm root in Thailand. Several students, instead of answering this question, simply wrote, "I think that everybody is equal."

This last remark probably best expresses the direction of the pattern of attitudes of the students over the years spent abroad. There is a trend toward equality. They begin to perceive that in a complex society there are many important occupations complementing one another. It is a trend towards a functional conception of the occupational world rather than a judgment based on status and prestige.

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<sup>1</sup>Maurice Zinkin, Problems of Economic Development in Asia (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954).  
Quoted by Guskin, op. cit., p. 43.



## Occupational Choice and Expectation

A student remarked, "The profession that I would like is teaching; but in Thailand the salary of a teacher is not enough to raise a family. Therefore I have to look for a job that will bring me good money." Besides economic reasons there is also the present system of admission to college in Thailand which forces students to enter fields in which they do not have a real interest. The present facilities in higher education fall far short of meeting demand and a large number of applicants must be refused. Rejection means the closing of the only door leading to prestige. Therefore, it becomes more important to be admitted to any department of the university, than to prepare for a career for which one has aptitude and interest. Prospective college students apply to as many departments as possible with the hope of being admitted to at least one, regardless of the nature of the department. Thus universities prepare what has been called "reluctant recruits" for many professions.

In Question 29, Thai students were asked to indicate the profession they would like to enter. Their answers are given in Table 14 by field of study. In each field of study the majority of respondents chose a profession consistent with their education. But beyond this, there is a wide scattering of choices where there is hardly any relationship between field of study and occupation. There is also a large number of students who did not answer this question.

In Question 35 students were asked to specify their expected field of work. Here again, answers were given by fields of study. This distribution of choices shows more consistency than in the preceding one dealing with desired occupation.

These questions indicate that there is much uncertainty in the occupational expectations of the students. Many students are training for professions they do not expect to enter. Many students do not know what lies ahead of them, and this state of affairs does not seem to change over the years in the United States.

In the distribution of choices, a pattern, observed earlier in the ranking of nine occupations, is again evident. The occupations which have the highest prestige in the minds of the students are also those chosen most often, education, medicine, and civil service.

TABLE 14. Field of Study and Desired Profession (Percentage in Each Category)

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Field of Study	Number	Teacher	Artist	Doctor	Architect	Scientist	Engineer	Business	Farmer	Soldier	No Answer
Agriculture	72	12.5	1.3	1.3	---	27.7	4.1	6.9	27.7	---	19.3
Business	99	6.0	2.0	---	1.0	---	1.0	64.6	---	3.0	22.2
Education	74	71.6	---	4.0	2.7	---	2.7	1.3	2.7	---	14.8
Engineering	98	6.1	---	---	4.0	4.0	73.5	5.1	1.0	3.0	3.0
Humanities	102	22.5	6.9	---	19.6	2.0	5.9	8.8	4.9	2.0	27.5
Medicine	158	1.3	2.5	69.6	---	8.2	0.6	1.3	1.9	1.3	13.3
Physical Sciences	86	23.2	---	3.5	---	51.2	2.3	3.5	5.8	---	10.5
Social Sciences	138	21.0	0.7	2.9	---	1.4	---	15.9	---	1.4	55.0

### Desired Region of Work

In Question 30 Thai students were asked in which region of Thailand they would like to work once they return to their homeland. A large number of Thai students come from regions outside Bangkok, however, most of them wish they could work in Bangkok itself upon their return. This pattern of attitudes varies slightly over the years of studies abroad. Those who have been four years or more in the United States are more tempted to remain in the country, 14 percent. This figure might be in reality even higher as 12 percent of the respondents did not answer the question. It is possible that a number of these might have been afraid to report that they were thinking of not returning to their own country. Students who indicate their preference for staying abroad are found mainly in the fields of business, humanities, and engineering.

That business and engineering students are interested in professional opportunities outside their homeland is understandable enough. One can easily recognize that original plans may undergo a change during the course of the study experience. Local governments may sometimes resent this phenomenon which might seem to them a loss. However, taking a more positive view, it is possible that certain different, but valuable, objectives can be achieved by the foreign student who does not return home. "He may have acquired knowledge that will make him a wiser and better person. He may play a useful role in society, even though it is not the role envisioned by his sponsor or his home country. He may follow scholarly and scientific pursuits which eventually benefit many countries."<sup>1</sup> From that positive point of view Thailand might consider these few students an asset, keep in contact with them, and see how they may someday benefit their country.

Seventeen percent of the Humanities students would prefer to remain abroad. This seems more difficult to explain or justify. Any number of guesses could be made, but the data do not permit more than a simple statement of the fact.

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<sup>1</sup>Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Foreign Student: Exchangee or Immigrant? (New York: Institute of International Education, 1958), p. 114.

### Security and Risk in Occupational Choice

An area studied at length by Guskin and of great importance in economic development is that of security consciousness. Those individuals who are willing to take chances, to try new ways of doing things and to experiment, become innovators in a society and make it move forward. The security-conscious people on the other hand, are those who shape for themselves a comfortable existence involving a minimum amount of risk. They usually seek to preserve the traditional established order and, as such, hinder progress.

Thai students are security conscious, the girls more than the boys.

The job opportunities available are not great, and university and college graduates cannot expect to have a great choice of jobs....There are a number of ways they can change their positions, but most of them entail outside help, such as fellowships to study overseas, knowing important people, etc. Such help is more than most students have and can really hope to have. From these social conditions we would expect a rather conservative, security conscious attitude toward their work and toward other aspects of society related to their work.<sup>1</sup>

Thai students' security consciousness or willingness to take risks was measured by their choice of one of three types of jobs in Question 32:

- (1) A job which pays little but that one is sure of keeping forever.
- (2) A job which pays a good income but with a 50-50 chance of losing.
- (3) A job which pays much money but which can easily be lost.

The distribution of the students' answers is given in Table 15.

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<sup>1</sup>Guskin, op. cit., p. 24.

TABLE 15. Security and Risk in Occupational Choice By Length of Stay in the United States

Months in the United States	Number	Percentage Who Would Prefer:			
		Low Income and Security	Good Income and Moderate Risk	High Income and Great Risk	No Answer
1- 6	62	45.3	30.6	17.7	6.4
7-18	342	39.2	38.6	18.4	3.8
19-30	214	29.0	45.8	18.7	6.5
31-54	162	22.2	44.5	26.5	6.8
55-over	100	24.0	48.0	22.0	6.0
University students in Thai- land <sup>a</sup>	2,878	47.4	40.7	9.2	2.7
American <sup>b</sup> college students	2,975	9.0	41.0	48.0	2.0

<sup>a</sup>Guskin, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>b</sup>Goldsan et al., op. cit., p. 31.

Students who are willing to leave their country for the unknown experience of a foreign campus, even with the hope of higher prestige later on, can be expected to be more daring than the average. If all those who are willing to accept a certain amount of risk, i.e., those who selected the last two choices in answer to Question 32, are combined, it appears that 62 percent of the Thai students in the United States are willing to take risks in varying degrees, while 38 percent prefer the security of a more stable occupation.

On this item, as on many of the following, the Chulalongkorn study gives numerical data for its sampling of Thai college students. Moreover, the area of occupational values of that study was largely inspired by the work of Goldsen and her collaborators on the values of American college students. Some of the items are even identical, so that this offers the advantage of a comparison with two terms of reference: a measure of the values of the population from which the students come, and a measure of the values of the population with which they come in contact.



Such a comparison shows a definite trend away from the Thai position and towards the American one. Among Thai students who have been in the United States for more than four and a half years, 22 percent are willing to take great risks in order to obtain a job which pays much money, while only 9 percent chose the same alternative among the Thai students of the Chulalongkorn study.

An analysis by age of this item showed a completely different trend: the older students tended to place more value in security.

As for the trend related to length of stay in the United States, it can undoubtedly be attributed in part to the contact with people who are success-oriented and who know that in a civilization of plenty, risks are worth taking. This trend could also be related to greater self-confidence. After foreign students have been in their host country for some time and have achieved a certain degree of success--otherwise they would have returned home--they have good reasons to think that finding a job will not present any problem. They can afford the luxury of choosing highly rewarding jobs, in spite of the risks involved. A third factor related to this trend could be the work experience that several Thai students have had while abroad. Those who have worked show a greater tendency to accept risk.

The same change of attitude is found among both male and female students, although men show a greater willingness to take risks. The same sex difference was found in Guskin's survey; it could be partly attributed to the smaller number of career opportunities available for girls.<sup>1</sup>

### Requirements of Occupational Success

Willingness to take risks in order to get a good job is related to judgments on the requirements of occupational success. If, for instance, students think that being successful in their professions depends on conditions and qualities within their reach they are likely to be more willing to take initiatives and risks.

To assess what Thai students consider to be the requirements of occupational success, they were asked in

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<sup>1</sup>Guskin, loc. cit.

Question 31 to select the most important of the nine following conditions of success: intelligence and abilities; education; luck; experience; appearance; initiative; family connections; acquaintance with some person influential in the field; and effort.

The students' most frequent choices were intelligence and aptitudes, education, and effort. More importance was given to personal aptitudes and intelligence and there was a tendency over the years of study to stress this particular condition of success. Reliance on education, to some extent, tended also to increase, while perseverance and effort seemed to become less important. Men emphasized intelligence and ability, while women placed more value on perseverance and effort. The overall trend represents a change away from the attitudes commonly held by Thai college students as measured by the questionnaire of the Chulalongkorn study.<sup>1</sup>

Guskin's analysis on this point was critical. In the students' reliance on their own aptitudes he diagnosed a certain degree of "wishful thinking" and lack of realism. Getting ahead in an Asiatic society often depends on acquaintances, friends, and connections. "The students' impressions are based on good experience; the rules of getting ahead in education are based on achievement. Unfortunately, when they graduate, they are no longer students and must face a society in which who you know is often as important as what you know."<sup>2</sup>

The students are not unaware of this fact. On this particular question their answer was limited to one choice, and they selected a characteristic constitutive of the individual, rather than some external circumstances. This is logical: before someone can hope to be helped by friends, he must have at least a minimum of abilities and goodwill. It is noteworthy that, at students advanced in their studies, and therefore achieved a certain degree of success, their self-confidence increased and they tended to stress more personal ability as a requirement of success. But many felt the need to add some comments to their choice of ability as the most important characteristic. "In Thailand," noted one student, "to have ability is not enough; one has also to know somebody in government circles in order to get a good job." Another said: "In the United

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

States you might be able to rely on your ability and get ahead on your own; but this does not apply to Thailand. There, you have to know some influential people." The fact that a relatively large proportion of students did not answer this question, over 10 percent, may reflect the hesitations of many. Comments such as those mentioned above, came precisely from those who refused to select any of the possible answers.

### Basic Life Satisfactions

Career is an important aspect of life for professionals, but it is not necessarily the most satisfying one. Basic life satisfaction were explored in the present study through Question 34. Thai students were asked to indicate the kind of work or activity that would give them most satisfaction in life. There were six possible choices:

My own career.

My family.

Leisure time activities.

Religious beliefs and practices.

Participation in community affairs.

Participation in national affairs.

Career, family, and participation in national affairs were the items most frequently selected.

Thai students left a country where the expected life satisfaction center around two focuses: career and participation in national affairs. This pattern is more accentuated among men. For women, interest in their families comes first, then career and national affairs. Within the context of the American society this commitment to serve one's country might seem surprising.<sup>1</sup> In answering the same question, only 1 percent of the students in the Cornell study chose the alternative "interest in national affairs" and 88 percent rejected it altogether.<sup>2</sup> But in Thailand,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>2</sup>Goldsan, et al., op. cit., p. 24.

career and participation in national affairs are often synonymous. "Among the elite great emphasis is placed on political power, social connections, economic standing, education, and family background. An upper-class boy is tutored in skills which will fit him for an occupation--traditionally government service--through which family wealth, status, and prestige can be maintained."<sup>1</sup>

American students, on the other hand, are family-centered and for them a career is only half as important, although it remains a major source of satisfaction in their lives.<sup>2</sup> This is the pattern of interest towards which Thai students in this country are moving. Both career and national affairs lose some importance. Although the trend is not a very sharp one it should not be minimized, since it is a trend opposite that shown in an analysis of the responses by age groups. As people grow older, and as they become involved in their professional work, their interest in their careers shows a strong rising curve, while family life seems to have less importance.

A minor trend is the importance given to leisure time activities. The Thai are fond of fun and leisure. To work hard just to add to one's wealth holds little attraction. "They rate highly the desire and ability to have a good time."<sup>3</sup> Life is to be enjoyed, not endured; it has to be sanuk, i.e., merry, as explained in the preceding chapter. Benedict has already reported that "the Thai certainly do not conceive of life as a round of duties and responsibilities. They accept work and make it as gay as possible; when it is done they are free to take their leisure. They have no cultural inventions of self-castigation and many of self-indulgence and merriment."<sup>4</sup> When a Thai student first comes to the United States he probably has little time to turn his mind to the sanuk aspect of life. But, as he becomes adapted to campus life and masters the intricacies of the academic world, he feels free to notice the many sanuk activities to be found in large American cities.

A number of students formulated their expected life satisfactions in their own idealistic terms. One said that

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<sup>1</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 485.

<sup>2</sup>Goldsen, et al., op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 483.

<sup>4</sup>Benedict, op. cit., p. 24.

he would like "to contribute to world peace and work to rid the world of evil and selfishness." Another wished "to be engaged in a career that will contribute to the progress of mankind." Others wrote about "searching for knowledge," "rendering service to country and people," "travelling and meeting people." All of these remarks came from older students. Although this might not indicate a definite trend it gives additional support to the observation that the main concern of the Thai educated class is not with professional, academic, or economic activities, but with family, prestige, and enjoyment in general; these tendencies are reinforced by an educational sojourn in the United States.

### Occupational Satisfaction

A career might not be the major life satisfaction for Thai students but it will nonetheless be a reality of their existence. What will be the aspect of their occupations that will prove most rewarding to them? In Question 33 Thai students were asked: "The job that would satisfy me most would have to be:"

Give me the opportunity to use my own aptitudes.

Give me security and stability for the future.

Give me an opportunity to be creative and original.

Give me the opportunity to be helpful to others.

Offer me the chance to earn a good deal of money.

Give me the chance to exercise leadership.

Provide me with work free of supervision.

Give me social status and prestige.

Students in Thailand are primarily concerned with future security and also with the opportunity to help others.<sup>1</sup> According to their responses, Thai students abroad become less concerned with security, and more interested in finding a job which will provide an outlet for the use of their own aptitudes. Self-fulfillment and the

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<sup>1</sup>Guskin, op. cit. p. 31.



opportunity to be creative and original were also the prime concerns of the American students in the Cornell study. The trend among Thai students could therefore be seen as approaching the emphasis of American students who wish to be able to use their own potentialities in their careers.

There are, however, important differences. American students remain much more security and money conscious. These two aspects of an occupation are rated highest after the opportunity to use one's own special abilities.<sup>1</sup> For Thai students there is a sharp decrease in concern about security; money is not mentioned often either, i.e., by only 2 percent of the respondents. Helping others as a requirement for occupational satisfaction remains a strong motive, understandably more among women than men. That many are concerned with the welfare of their fellow men can be understood from the fact that the majority of these students will enter occupations where the primary concern is the educational, political, or physical welfare of other human beings.

As for money, Benedict has observed that the Thai never think of it as something to be accumulated but just as a means to meet the needs of the day. She illustrates this with a folktale.<sup>2</sup> The king once asked a peasant what he did with his savings. "Your majesty, he replied, all the money I am able to save, I divide into four parts. The first part, I bury in the ground; the second part I use to pay my creditors; the third part I fling into the river; and the fourth part I give to my enemy." When asked to specify, the peasant said the money buried in the ground was the money spent for religious purposes. The money for creditors was for what it cost him to take care of his parents to whom he owed everything. The money thrown into the river was what his wife spent on jewelry. The point of interest in this story is that the idea of saving or investing in some improvement was not a part of the peasant's budget.

One important choice of the students on this question is a job relatively free of supervision. This is a wish which increases with age and length of stay in the United States, and is equally strong among male and female students. Many of the respondents who did not choose a specific answer added a note which meant some kind of freedom in work conditions. "I don't care as long as I can work independently, without a boss." "I want to be my own boss." "I

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<sup>1</sup>Goldsen, et al., op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Benedict, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

want a job that will give me some freedom, and allow for some personal initiative.<sup>d</sup> "It would have to be a job I like, even though the salary is small, provided it is enough for my needs.<sup>d</sup>

The word Thai means free. There is probably no other word which describes the citizens of this Asian kingdom more accurately. It refers to national independence, never lost from the beginning of the nation's history. But most of all it is a characteristic of the individual. Blanchard noted that:

In the personality of the Thai as an individual, one of the most fundamental traits is belief in the concept that, within wide limits, a person is responsible only to himself and that his actions are no one else's concern. Thus in general the Thai people are not amenable to sustained regimentation....Their religion sets no absolute standards for behavior, only enjoining them to seek individual salvation in the way they best see fit. They join very few organizations or associations, usually relying on individual strength and fortitude. Among the first things a Thai child learns is that he can depend only on himself and that his duty is to meet every situation adequately.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, in spite of this strong striving for independence and freedom from supervision, it is most unlikely that the majority of these students will ever find an occupation that offers such advantages. All those working in governmental or educational positions--teachers are civil servants in Thailand--will have to operate under a strongly authoritarian system. There is no longer an absolute monarchy in the country, but government today is still authoritarian.

Caught in a conflict between aspirations and reality Thai students, however, are not likely to become frustrated. Their culture values moderation and non-involvement. Situations are met without anxiety, with the equanimity idealized by Buddhism. Mosel noted:

Subordination to higher authority is accepted without resentment or servility,

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<sup>1</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., pp. 481-482.

and nothing is demanded in return from it. The Thai do not cringe since deference is based on attitudes of respect and politeness, not fear. Because of the looseness of the social structure, respect and deference do not necessarily imply obedience, although outward disobedience is almost unthinkable. In case of non-compliance, action simply peters out rather than assuming the form of defiance. To a large degree, the problem of the Thai personality is one of maintaining the proper balance between individualism on one hand and conformity to the pattern of superior-subordinate relationships on the other.<sup>1</sup>

### Women and Career

Although Thai society is male-oriented in its values, women occupy an important social position. Deference and submission to the male head of the house, as well as the ability to run a gracious home are qualities expected from a wife. In the villages, as well as in urban regions, the position of the Thai woman has always been powerful. She controls the family finances and does most of the buying and selling.<sup>2</sup> Today women hold positions in the civil service, they are active in business, they are found in the professions, even in the legislature.

Thai students' attitudes on the problem of women and careers were explored through Question 35. They were asked to select one of the following eight statements. Women should:

Work whether they get married or not.

Not work.

Work if they are not married.

Work if they have no children.

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<sup>1</sup>Mosel, op. cit., p. 301.

<sup>2</sup>John E. de Young, Village Life in Modern Thailand (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), p. 24.

Resume work when the child is five years old.

Resume work when the child enters elementary school.

Resume work when the child enters high school.

Work whatever the age of the children.

Students of the Chulalongkorn study, when asked their opinion about women having a career, were almost all in favor of the idea.<sup>1</sup> So it is with students of the present survey, when they first come to the United States. Such an overwhelming majority favoring work for women regardless of marriage and family - almost 80 percent in Thailand and 71 percent among new arrivals in the United States - could possibly be explained by the concept of family among Thai people. The family household is basically the small-family type consisting primarily of both parents and the children. But very often it includes one or more grandparents or some other relatives. Thus there is always someone around the house to look after young children if the mother has to be away for work. Besides the kind of work usually performed by women in Thailand is done at home or around the home, and seldom requires them to be away regularly during the day for long periods of time. Given these circumstances the students feel that women could work regardless of marital obligations.

This attitude however changes greatly over the years spent in the United States. Few of the men come to oppose the idea of a career for a woman altogether. The general trend, however, is towards a more qualified judgment which takes into account whether a woman is married or has children. This new pattern comes very close to the way American college students answered the same question in the Cornell study.<sup>2</sup> In the mind of American students there seems to be some opposition between the idea of a woman having a career and her main job of bearing and rearing children. And this is the attitude that Thai students seem to be accepting gradually. Man is the main provider in the family; the woman's first duty is at home and she should work only to the extent that her work is needed to meet the expenses of the household.

On this question the comments written by some students clarify this interpretation. A girl said: "A woman

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<sup>1</sup>Guskin, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>2</sup>Goldsan, et al., op. cit., p. 48.

TABLE 16. Judgment On Women and Career By Length of Stay  
In the United States (Percentage in Each Category)

Months in the United States	Number	Career Married or Not	No Career	Career If Not Married	Career If No Child	Career If Chil- dren Old Enough <sup>a</sup>	Other <sup>b</sup>
1- 6	62	71.0	1.6	4.8	6.4	1.6	14.6
7-18	342	59.9	1.7	9.6	12.0	4.1	12.5
19-30	214	54.7	4.2	8.9	15.9	6.6	9.8
31-54	162	45.1	1.2	14.2	16.7	4.2	18.5
55-over	100	38.0	6.0	10.0	22.0	3.0	21.0
University students in Thailand <sup>c</sup>	2,878	78.9	2.2	4.9	5.8	1.6	6.8
American college students <sup>d</sup>	2,758	24.0	7.0	19.0	19.0	28.0	4.0

<sup>a</sup>This category combines the percentages in the categories: "work if the child is five years old," "work when the child enters elementary school," "work when the child enters high school."

<sup>b</sup>This category includes the category "work whatever the age of the children."

<sup>c</sup>Guskin, op. cit. p. 50.

<sup>d</sup>Goldsan, et al. op. cit. p. 48.



should not work if the man can support the family.<sup>d</sup> And a boy reported the same idea in a negative way: "If the husband does not earn enough the wife should work to supplement his income.<sup>d</sup> Another one noted that "today, a woman has to work in order to help her husband to take care of the expenses of the family.<sup>d</sup> "It is all right for a woman to work if she can handle her job and her household chores at the same time.<sup>d</sup> Some simply stated that "women should be allowed to decide whatever they want on this problem." Finally, a boy was more emphatic urging that "a university trained woman should work. There are so many occupations in Thailand which have a shortage of personnel. If a woman does not want to enter a career she should not get a university education and take away from someone else this opportunity.<sup>d</sup>

There are some sex differences on this question. A larger number of women favored careers for women without restriction. None of them opposed the idea, while 4 percent of the men did.

The general trend observed on the problem of women and career is rather amazing. It would seem that Thai students<sup>a</sup> after having been away from home a number of years, begin to wonder about the chances of success for a woman planning a career in a professional field. Traditionally, women in Asian society have played a more important role in many political and economic areas than women in American society.

Goldsen, summing up the attitudes of American college students, said<sup>a</sup> "There is no question that college girls count on building up equity in family life, not in professional work. A dedicated career girl is a deviant<sup>a</sup> in a real sense she is unwilling to conform to her sex role as American Society defines it for professional work among women in this country...is viewed as an interlude...."<sup>1</sup>

This is not so in Thailand where a woman is expected to take an active part in the administration of the affairs of the family or even the village. This is not to say that Thai students are less family oriented. Family life constitutes one of their basic life satisfactions, but their conception of a woman's role within the family includes not only the household chores but a broader variety of obligations. This pattern of attitudes has been carried into the more complex society of today as can be seen by the number

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.<sup>a</sup> p. 58.

of women working in education or medicine. It is doubtful that women trained in the United States will deviate from this pattern upon their return home, in spite of the attitudes developed while living abroad. Wives of American-trained Thai professionals, on the other hand, might be expected to behave more as mothers within a family conceived along the characteristics of the American type.

### Summary

Thai students' attitudes on occupational values do show differences in an analysis by length of stay in the United States. In general there is a gradual trend to view the world of work and careers according to the American way of life.

Differences appear first of all in the students' occupational images. They move from a status and prestige-seeking conception of careers to a more equalitarian and less conservative one. The world, as the Thai see it, is still a hierarchy of statuses and powers where the traditional professions of teacher, doctor, monk, and government official are the main axes of the national structure. But after a few years abroad Thai students begin to give a different emphasis to each one of these occupations; their occupational hierarchy becomes closer to that found in the attitudes of American college students. They project onto their own country the social order they immediately perceive around themselves.

There is also a shift in expected life and occupational satisfaction. Like their American counterparts, the Thai students become more family minded. They begin to attach more importance to personal aptitudes and abilities as a condition of success. This greater concern with family life is reflected in the change in their attitudes from unconditional agreement regarding careers for women to more qualified responses based on family obligations.

Thai students who have been longer in America are more self-confident and more willing to take risks in life in the hope of some greater personal gain. This willingness is probably related not only to contact with an environment where risk is often a way of life, but also to the students' academic success. Education and superior know-how have usually been the key to admission to the prestige group of Thai society. So students who are about to return home with a diploma from an American university can afford

the luxury of risk, now that the problem of security seems to have been solved. One can doubt, however, whether this type of willingness to take risks will produce the entrepreneurs needed to foster the economic growth of the country.

## VII. VIEWS ON EDUCATION

Better education and more advanced training are the primary goals of foreign students in the United States. Many of these international visitors will become involved in education in their home country either as teachers or policy makers; American education is thus of great interest, especially regarding possible application to their own national educational system.

Thailand has never been afraid to import foreign ideas to improve its own institutions, from the legendary times of Anna at the court of King Mongkut to the most recent times. In former years European influences were more noticeable. Lately, however, as illustrated in the National Scheme of Education promulgated by royal decree in 1961,<sup>1</sup> America has been the chief source of inspiration.

The impact of the American sojourn on the Thai students' views on education was explored through eight questions on the nature, goals, and techniques of education.

### The Purpose of Education

#### Educational Goals

In Chapter IV it was noted that, by and large, Thai students were satisfied with their academic experience in the United States. To understand this happy state of mind, and also to discover the tasks students expect a university to fulfill, educational goals were questioned. In Question 46 Thai students were asked to select the most important of

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<sup>1</sup>The National Scheme of Education makes clear the multiple functions served by the educational system in Thailand. Further, it defines the structures of the system. The old structures were patterned after the British system. The new national scheme follows the American division of education in four levels: a pre-school, elementary, secondary, and higher education. Office of the Prime Minister, op. cit.

the following goals of a college or university:

- (1) Provide training directly applicable to a career.
- (2) Develop the ability to get along with people.
- (3) Prepare to live a meaningful and successful life.
- (4) Prepare for a happy marriage and family life
- (5) Develop the ability to solve problems that may arise in life
- (6) Provide knowledge and develop interests.
- (7) Lead to a degree.
- (8) Help to get privileges and honors.
- (9) Develop self-understanding.
- (10) Help in attaining social recognition as an important person.

These goals fall into three categories: academic, professional, and personal

Over the years abroad, the emphasis on academic goals increases while professional goals lose in importance. This is a trend quite different from that shown in the analysis by age. While the emphasis on the academic aspect remains constant for all age groups at approximately 30 percent, the proportion of those stressing professional goals moves from 25 percent for the younger students to 42 percent for the older. Older people are more pragmatic in their approach.

A comparison with the Chulalongkorn study shows that Thai students have moved a long way from the attitudinal pattern common among university students in Thailand where only 12.8 percent chose the academic area as the main goal of their education. "College and university education, as a medium for expression of ideas and a plan to pursue ideas, is secondary to the instrumental functions of education - to prepare for a job and life in general. Again, this is not unexpected, given the professional nature of the colleges and University."<sup>1</sup> Actually, students who go abroad to further their education are already more academi-

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<sup>1</sup>Guskin, op. cit. p. 71.



TABLE 17. Educational Goals By Length of Stay in the United States (Percentage in Each Category)

Months in the United States	Number	Profes- sional	Personal	Academic	Other
1- 6	62	38.7	34.7	25.8	0.8
7-18	342	35.6	30.2	30.6	3.6
19-30	214	37.4	28.0	32.2	2.4
31-54	162	30.2	32.5	34.0	3.3
55-over	100	26.0	31.0	38.0	5.0
University students in Thailand <sup>a</sup>	2,878	36.8	43.9	12.8	7.2
American college students <sup>b</sup>	2,975	36.0	26.0	35.0	3.0

<sup>a</sup>These percentages are computed from the data in Guskin, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>b</sup>These data represent the first choice of the respondents in Goldsen, et al., op. cit., p. 7.

cally minded than the average, and those who stay longer are undoubtedly more so, since they are seeking higher degrees. The findings are probably a reflection of this.

The data from the Cornell study<sup>1</sup> indicate similar distributions among American college students except for the personal area. A year by year analysis in that study also showed a trend among upperclassmen to stress academic goals. "In the freshman and sophomore classes, the opinion that vocational education should be the most important aim of college education takes precedence over all others. Among juniors, emphasis on vocational education is about equally balanced. But in the senior year, the point of view that

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

college ought to provide chiefly a 'basic education and appreciation of ideas' is far more prevalent than any other."<sup>1</sup>

The emphasis Thai students place on personal values as a goal of education can be explained in a number of ways. Guskin commented on the importance attached to education as something which leads to a better life, as indicated by the students of his sampling. He said that, for them, schooling is conceived as the road which leads to maturity. "Graduation is the key: the 'child' upon graduation, if he does not continue his education, becomes an adult; the student without responsibility becomes the teacher with a great deal of responsibility."<sup>2</sup> These remarks come from observation of the authoritarian way in which students, even in college and university, are usually treated in Thailand. This is part of the social system where certain categories of persons, such as parents and teachers, are to be shown proper respect. But, after his education is over, a young person is considered an adult and begins to enjoy the respect of others. So, students attach to education some "magical quality" through which they reach the age of responsibility.

Another explanation of this insistence on personal benefits as educational goals could be given in terms of the individualistic character of Thai people in general. To be sure, all people learn because it makes them better persons, it helps them to solve some of life's problems, and it makes it possible to lead a more meaningful life. In Thailand, this basic motivation is reinforced by the Buddhist value of self-improvement.

### The Educated Person

The goals of education can be also defined by considering the traits attributed to its end-product, the educated person. In Question 47 Thai students were asked to specify what they thought to be the most important characteristic of an educated person by selecting one of the following traits: The educated person is a person who:

- (1) Has a degree.
- (2) Has good manners.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-8.

<sup>2</sup>Guskin, op. cit. p. 72.

- (3) Conforms to social standards.
- (4) Is knowledgeable in everything.
- (5) Is able to use one's knowledge for the common good.
- (6) Is able to deal with others.
- (7) Has an open mind and desires to learn always.
- (8) Knows how to lead a happy life.
- (9) Is able to solve life's daily problems.
- (10) Can adapt to circumstances.

Although the ten items of this question were not identical with those of Question 46, the same pattern of attitudes stands out. The answers are distributed almost equally among the academic (answers 1, 4, and 7), professional (answer 5), and personal areas (answers 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, and 10). There is a slightly stronger emphasis on the professional or instrumental aspect of education than in the preceding question. One trend, however, is clear: an increasing number of students define an educated person as one who has an open mind and desires to learn always. There is Socratic wisdom in the statement that an educated person is not so much one who is knowledgeable in everything or is able to use knowledge for the common good, but one who has opened his mind and has become receptive to the reality of the world. Ascription of this characteristic seems clearly related to the length of stay of the students abroad.

One detail ought to be mentioned in connection with the group of new arrivals. Among these students 32.2 percent indicate the ability to adapt to circumstances as the main characteristic of the educated person. A good number of these students are in what has been referred to as "the adaptive phase" of their adjustment to a new culture.<sup>1r</sup> It is a time during which the adjustment stresses, whatever their intensity, are felt most acutely. It is understandable that this is precisely the aspect mentioned most by this particular group.

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<sup>1</sup>Cora Du Bois, Foreign Students and Higher Education in the United States (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1956), p. 68.

## The Teacher

### The Ideal Teacher

Jacob said that there is an accumulating body of evidence indicating "that the person of the instructor is on the way out as an educational factor at many institutions. The teacher appears to have little standing with the mass of students, and less influence. He goes with the books, the blackboard, and 'audio-visual aids.'<sup>1</sup> This is not surprising in a civilization which is predominantly matter-of-fact and relatively insensitive to personal relationships in daily business proceedings. As long as students obtain the knowledge they are seeking and secure training adequate for the demands of a career, they feel little need to pay attention to the person of the instructor.

This is not true of Orientals in general, and particularly of Thai students who are very sensitive to personal relationships and to the manifestations of interests and concern on the part of another person, even in the most trivial of dealings. A manifestation of this fundamental trait of character was mentioned in the previous chapter: who you know is often more important than what you know in obtaining a job.

Thai students come from a culture where the personalistic conception of the profession of teacher prevails. They now live in an environment where this profession is viewed within a pragmatic frame of reference. These students were asked in Question 48 their opinion on the main characteristics of the ideal teacher. There were 11 possible answers:

Fairness and faith in the students.

Good appearance.

Control of himself.

Good humor.

Ability to improve and to be open-minded.

Friendliness and courteousness.

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<sup>1</sup>Philip E. Jacob, Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), p. 78.

Ability to command respect from the students.

Intelligence and knowledge.

Interest and understanding of the students.

Conscientiousness.

Consistency.

More than 62 percent of the students chose interest in students and understanding. This reaction was constant and neither age nor length of exposure made any difference in the pattern of attitudes.

On this question, 43.1 percent of the students of the Chulalongkorn survey had selected this same trait of the ideal teacher. This discrepancy between the two sets of data is difficult to explain since no trend is discernible in an analysis by length of stay in the United States. It is possible that, since the personalistic approach to teaching is less obvious in the American classroom, these students feel a greater need to emphasize this particular aspect. The general emphasis, however, remains clear: the ideal teacher is a person who has been able to communicate a feeling of warmth and empathy to the students.<sup>a</sup> This affective relationship will probably be long remembered. One often hears students referring to their former teachers with a kind of filial devotion, and they show the outward marks of respect expected of a student years after graduation.

Lord Buddha himself has been revered as the Great Teacher and all teachers share in the prestige, honor, and respect given to their great Master. This oriental conception of teaching has been enhanced in Thailand by the fact that, until the beginning of this century, education was given almost exclusively by monks, and in the temples.<sup>1</sup> Here again the teacher was the good man, the Phra or the holy one, interested in his pupils and concerned with the goodness of their lives. He taught young people to read and write in order to understand the sacred texts of Buddhism and become better individuals. Today, although a layman, the teacher is still expected to be, first of all, a good person interested in the goodness of his students.

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<sup>1</sup>Benedict, op. cit.<sup>a</sup> p. 9.



### Cause of Teacher Failures

Teacher failures are not seen in relation to personal qualities of goodness, but rather in relation to lack of knowledge. In Question 53, Thai students were asked to specify the reason why teachers are unsuccessful. There were three possible answers:

They are too strict and too distant with students<sup>a</sup>

They do not know enough.

Their presentation is poor and not systematic<sup>a</sup>

Forty-six percent of the respondents thought that lack of knowledge is the cause of failure, 29 percent attributed the lack of success to poor presentation of materials in class, and 23 percent stressed personality characteristics such as being too strict or too distant<sup>a</sup>. Interpersonal relationships are still emphasized but knowledge and its systematic presentation become more important. No particular trend could be observed except in an analysis by age groups<sup>a</sup>. Younger students attach more importance to a teacher's friendly disposition and less to knowledge. Older students think that competency in one's field is the key to successful teaching.

The human factor, although very important to the students, is probably seldom the real cause of failure for teachers in Thailand. One respondent grasped the problem in much more realistic terms<sup>a</sup>. He said: "Teachers in Thailand are not paid well enough and they have to stand too much pressure on the part of their superiors." That Thai professors are underpaid is a fact clearly stated by the Joint Task Force on Human Resources in 1963: "There is no question but that salary levels in the public sector are too low in terms of obtaining and keeping qualified employees. In the teaching realm it is a major factor that will have to be reckoned with if the quality of education is not to suffer further deterioration."<sup>1</sup>

Adequate wages and a climate favoring initiative are undoubtedly important conditions of successful teaching. Where these are absent, teachers easily become involved in other kinds of work to supplement their incomes<sup>a</sup>. When personal initiative has been curtailed, teaching becomes routine to the detriment of the learning process<sup>a</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Joint Thai-USOM Human Resources Study, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

The fact that the attitudes of Thai students on this question, as well as on the preceding one, change very little over the years abroad would seem to indicate that their perception of the "teacher figure" remains constant. Teachers are teachers, whatever their nationality or the country where they teach. Judgments are still made in the traditional personalistic frame of reference. However, sooner or later, these future teachers are likely to become aware of the administrative and economic shortcomings of their own national educational system.

### Preparation Required for Teaching

Question 52 was designed to measure the students' perception of the seriousness of the business of education. They were asked how much preparation time would be required for a twelve-hour teaching week. This was an ambiguous question since it did not specify either the subject matter to be taught or the level. Several respondents noted this difficulty, and a relatively high proportion of students, 6.4 percent, did not answer the question. Because of this limitation, valid conclusions can hardly be drawn from the data collected. It is simply noted that there is a tendency on the part of those who study longer in the United States to feel the need for more preparation time.

### The Ideal Student

Education is viewed by Thai students as an interpersonal process. The ideal teacher is an individual who ought to understand his students and be interested in them; the ideal student is the young person who responds to this masterly concern of his elders.

In Question 49, students were asked to indicate the main characteristic of the ideal student. They were to select their choice from the following traits:

Intelligence and cleverness.

Open-mindedness.

Friendliness.

Independence: works by himself.

Ability to write and speak well.

Original ideas<sup>a</sup>

Leadership.

Moral responsibility.

Critical and analytical mind<sup>a</sup>

Interest in beautiful things (art, poetry, literature, nature)<sup>a</sup>

Obedience and acceptance of the teacher's opinions<sup>a</sup>

Good behavior<sup>a</sup>

The main characteristic of an ideal student is seen as an openness to the sources of knowledge. The ideal student is someone with wide interests and an open mind along with a critical and an analytical disposition<sup>a</sup>. He is not so much a clever and original thinker as someone willing to pay attention to what teachers offer, understand it, and profit from it<sup>a</sup>. As the sojourn in the United States becomes longer, this tendency is reinforced, while intelligence and original ideas are mentioned less often<sup>a</sup>. There were a few respondents who stressed the moral aspect of the ideal student by selecting behavioral traits such as friendliness, obedience, and moral responsibility. These responses were found mainly among young people, but it is a decreasing tendency.

A comparison with Guskin's findings on this question cannot be made on an absolute basis because his data were collapsed into categories which do not correspond to those used in the present analysis.<sup>1</sup> However, the students of the Chulalongkorn survey stressed moral values as a characteristic of the ideal student in much larger proportions than those of the present group, 28 percent against 10.8 percent<sup>a</sup>. This difference can easily be explained by the insistence on good behavior in Thai schools<sup>a</sup>. The Ministry of Education even publishes textbooks for instruction in morality. One of these is called Characteristics of a Good Person<sup>a</sup>. It consists mainly of a listing of commandments on behavior proper for a good student and eventually a good citizen<sup>a</sup>. The response of the students of the Chulalongkorn study seems to be an echo of the education received earlier<sup>a</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Guskin, op. cit., p. 63.

## Democratic Practices in Education

Authoritarian regimes in education, as well as over-permissive ones, hamper the growth of the individual, as Sanford has pointed out.<sup>1</sup> Over-protective structures do not give the students the opportunity to develop their intellectual powers. Education should strive to make it possible for young minds to make fine discriminations, to analyze, judge, and criticize. Where students are expected to passively absorb knowledge imparted by an irrefutable authority, one can hardly hope that these goals be achieved.

Traditional societies, as those of Southeast Asia, are fundamentally authoritarian. This is manifest at all levels of the society, in family life as well as in the entire government structure, and consequently in education. Thai universities are state institutions, established by royal charter and directly accountable to the prime minister. Lind remarked that even the physical aspect of the university conveys this state of affairs.<sup>2</sup> In Western societies, he notes, one finds a pattern of separate facilities, loosely bound together by a university council. But in Thailand, one finds a highly centralized system symbolized by one campus sheltered by the encircling barriers of masonry walls and impassable klongs (canals). Within such a system the slightest innovation must first be approved by the administrative elite, and any constructive suggestion for change must appear to have originated only at the top.

Students find themselves bound in the structures of the old order while aspiring to master the knowledge and skills promised by Western educational ideals. "One sees students struggling to record in their notes as accurately as possible the exact words that the professor utters and then at examination time striving just as valiantly to reproduce from memory what they have previously recorded."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nevitt Sanford (ed.), "Developmental Status of the Entering Freshman," The American College (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), pp. 278-79.

<sup>2</sup>Andrew Lind, "Higher Education--Perspective from Southeast Asia," Teachers College Record, LXIV (March, 1963), 491.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 492.

Within this context, and because of the importance of this problem for the future educational development of Thailand, the students' attitudes on democratic practices in education were explored through three questions.

Question 50 stated that university students should have a voice in the decisions of the administration of the university. Thai students were asked to react to this statement on a four-point scale of agreement. Answers to this question remained stable over the years in the United States; the great majority of students, 80.6 percent, agree with the proposition stated above. Among the respondents of the Chulalongkorn study, 86.9 percent were in agreement.<sup>1</sup>

In Question 51, Thai students were asked to indicate their opinion of democratic practices in the classroom. Answers were also to be given on a four-point scale of agreement. No particular trend was found in an analysis by length of stay in the United States. Again, a strong proportion of the respondents, 72.8 percent, agreed.

Finally, in Question 54, Thai students were asked to react to the following concrete situation: "If you were a teacher, and your supervisor made some rule which conflicted with your own beliefs, what should you do?" The students were given four courses of action to choose from:

- (1) Make the students obey the rule.
- (2) Try to discuss it with the supervisor.
- (3) Try to change the rule a little.
- (4) Pay no attention to the rule.

The expected behavior in an authoritarian society, such as Thailand, would be to conform blindly to the command. A democratic attitude would tend to express to the superior any conflicting opinion or to use one's judgment to adapt to the circumstances. Here again, after tabulation, 66 percent of the students show that they are democratically-minded and answered that they would try to discuss the matter with the authority; only 9 percent would obey blindly. In Thailand, 54 percent would take a democratic course of action, while 6 percent would obey.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Guskin, op. cit. p. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 68.



The analysis by length of stay in the United States or by age showed little variation in the pattern of answers.

The Thai students' response, both in Thailand and in the United States, given the fact that obedience to superiors is the expected mode of life in Thailand is a surprising one. "Compliance with authority," remarked Mosel, "is not only a matter of regulations; it is an expression of respect for the dignity of rank. Submission to higher rank is seen as natural and proper; it is a carry-over of habits acquired elsewhere in the Thai culture....The vertical orientation favors a one-way communication system--downward. It would appear, however, that pressure to communicate upward is growing."<sup>1</sup>

The findings of the present research show that this pressure is indeed a strong one among the future educated elite of the country, and even more so among those educated abroad. This may not necessarily be the result of a contact with the West. But it at least manifests the strong basic need of an intelligent, knowledgeable human being not to obey orders blindly but to be able to contribute actively to the good of the society in which he lives. Thailand has emerged from the state of a peasant culture where administrative matters were considered the prerogative of a distant ruling elite. Today there is an increasing educated group with a need to be part of the forces shaping their national destiny.

A sizeable number of students, 21 percent in the present survey and 37 percent in the Chulalongkorn sampling, indicated that they would rather try to change the rule a little bit by themselves if they were caught in such an embarrassing situation. This attitude seems a typical characteristic of the Thai way of life which has been noted by all behavioral scientists who have studied Thailand, and which is referred to as the "cool heart."<sup>2</sup> Benedict noted that "the Thai, in common with many Far Eastern and Oceanic peoples, have special attitudes and emotions which they designate as 'cool' and others which they designate as 'warm'...being 'cool' means...a kind of sangfroid. The term implies coolness of attitude toward work, responsibility, or trouble."<sup>2</sup> The Thai expression which conveys this reality is choei. In the words of Blanchard, "A person with choei

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<sup>1</sup>Mosel, op. cit., pp. 322-23.

<sup>2</sup>Benedict, op. cit., p. 38.

is never caught unaware and never permits himself to be found in an embarrassing situation. This is a generalized attitude, appropriate to all aspects of life--work, friendship, responsibility, and so on, but it shows up most clearly in situations of stress.<sup>1</sup>

This is precisely the kind of situation described in Question 54. Instead of letting this conflict create some anxiety and go through the strain and embarrassment of discussing the matter with the authority, it seems better to remain unperturbed, accommodate the rule to one's point of view, and come off choei. The authority is not likely to feel slighted but rather, will admire the individual who was able to maintain his "coolness of heart." An embarrassing situation is avoided and politeness prevails.

### Summary

The exploration in the area of educational values, rather than leading to the discovery of differences related to the American experience of the students as such, has yielded some insights on Thai personality characteristics and has indicated trends resulting from education regardless of national differences. In other words, the pattern of differences observed is not particular to the group of Thai students, but applies in great part to all students, American as well as foreign.

Among the trends that develop during these years of study, there is a greater valuation of the academic aspect of education and a greater desire to pursue knowledge. The educated person is an open-minded individual. So also is the ideal student who is expected, besides, to be analytical and critical.

The traditional value system of the Thai is reflected in the students' conception of the teacher as a good person interested in his students, and in the obligation that the students feel to reciprocate this concern. Typical Thai behavior appears also in the reaction of many who, in situations of stress, would rather dodge the issue than face the conflict.

In spite of the ability to compromise and maintain a "cool heart" the future educated elite of the country shows

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<sup>1</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 483.

a strong desire to see the old authoritarian order of their society give way to a system of delegated authority and shared responsibilities. There is an increasing need for a two-way communication pattern of administration within the educational community and probably also at the different levels of the social and political order in general.

## VIII. COURTSHIP AND FAMILY LIFE

As emphasized by those who have studied social structures in Thailand, the biological family, consisting of five or six persons, is the primary social unit of Thai life.<sup>1</sup> One of the major tasks that international students have to face, besides their academic goals, is to prepare to establish a family of their own. Most of the Thai students in this survey are presumably still single and are therefore involved more or less immediately in the issue of a marriage choice.<sup>2</sup> They have to adopt a definite pattern of dating, face a decision on their marriage partner, and form a judgment on the kind of family life they desire for themselves. This is an area where the distance between the society in which Thai students grew and the world in which they now live is the greatest.

Not only are there large differences between Thai and American cultures, but for the past few decades family life has been undergoing deep changes within Thailand itself. This is probably part of the democratization process initiated by the 1932 revolution. It is undoubtedly also due to the influence of the foreign educated elite, from the King down, who brought back home new ways of feeling and thinking. Mosel, in stressing the fact that change in Thailand

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<sup>1</sup>Blanchard, op. cit., p. 430; and Herbert P. Phillips, Thai Peasant Personality (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup>The questionnaire did not provide for information on marital status. The decision not to ask for marital status was based on the results of the pilot study among Thai students in the New York area which showed that none of them were married, in spite of the fact that the age range was from 18 to 29. In Thailand, it is customary not to marry before one's studies are over. This is confirmed by the answers obtained by Guskin in his survey; when he asked the age at which students would like to marry, 82 percent of the boys and 62.6 percent of the girls chose an age older than 25. Guskin, op. cit., p. 97.

is usually initiated at the top and flows down to the different strata of the society, noted that "changes initiated at the top are not confined to purely political matters. Social customs, family relationships, style of dress, sports, games, women's hair styles, personal names, dancing, kissing of wives, linguistic usages, marital arrangements, modes of address, spelling of words, the Thai alphabet--all these, to name a few, are areas where the political leadership has not been hesitant to initiate change."<sup>1</sup>

In keeping with the exploratory character of this survey, only a few questions were asked on the attitudes of Thai students on family life in such areas as age of responsibility, dating, choice of a marriage partner, duties of husbands and wives, and authority in the family.

#### Age of Responsibility for Man and Woman

Adulthood and self-responsibility in traditional Thai society have been conceived as a consequence of marriage and not something prior to it, almost as if family obligations conferred upon the individual some magical quality which transformed him. Consequently, within such a frame of reference, attitudes concerning the age of responsibility and those on marriage choice can be expected to be intimately related.

Traditionally, a young man was considered to have reached maturity after he had spent at least three months in a temple as a Buddhist monk. Phya Anuman Rajadhon says: "We call a young man who has passed his customary term of monkhood a 'khon suk,' literally a mature or ripe man, in contrast to a 'khon dip,'<sup>2</sup> or a raw man who has not yet passed through the monkhood."<sup>2</sup> However, maturity was complete only after marriage. "A man who remains unmarried for a long time we call 'khon khang' which means literally an unfinished or incomplete man."<sup>3</sup>

In Question 63 Thai students were asked to select among the following eight responses the time at which they

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<sup>1</sup>Mosel, op. cit., p. 281.

<sup>2</sup>Phya Anuman Rajadhon, The Story of Thai Marriage Custom (Bangkok: National Culture Institute, 1954), p. a7.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 8.



thought a young man becomes responsible:

After standard VI [i.e., after secondary education].

After pre-university [i.e., first two years of college].

After his education is all over.

At the age of 20.

After his Buddhist ordination.

When he can support himself.

When he gets married.

When he has children.

The answers show that young Thai in the United States have already moved a long distance away from the traditional attitudes of their homeland. Responsibility and maturity were seen in terms of marriage by only 30.6 percent of the new arrivals and this percentage decreased to 21 percent among those who had been in the United States more than four years. Only a few referred to Buddhist ordination as a criterion of maturity. The trend was to conceive of responsibility on the basis of education; once a young person is graduated from at least high school he appears to be ready to start a life of his own. This attitude was stronger among women, 32.3 percent, than among men, 22.4 percent. Thirty-two percent of the male respondents, against 21 percent of the females, chose financial responsibility.

Thai students' attitudes on the age of responsibility for women were explored through Question 64. They were asked to select one of the following criteria indicating the time at which a woman becomes fully responsible:

After standard VI [i.e., after secondary education].

After pre-university [i.e., first two years of college].

After her education is all over.

At the age of 20.

When she can support herself.

After marriage.

When she has children.

Traditionally, maturity for a woman came with marriage and more specifically with the birth of her first child. Rajadon quotes some popular sayings characterizing a married woman as "the house and home" or "the flesh and body." "In short, a married woman is a full and complete person, safe under the protection of her husband."<sup>1</sup> Actually, this full maturity was effectively acknowledged only when the woman became a mother. The anthropologist de Young noted: "Traditionally, a girl's entry into adult status could be said to be marked by the birth of her first child; for at this time, she underwent the rigorous 'roasting' which literally aged her fifteen or twenty years. Though this 'roasting' custom has been wiped out, the birth of the first child still may be said to mark the girl's real entry into adult responsibility."<sup>2</sup>

The answers to Question 64 indicate that motherhood as a symbol of maturity has practically disappeared among the educated class. When asked to specify the time at which a woman is considered responsible, only 4 percent of the students chose that particular alternative. The most common attitude was to assess maturity on the basis of marriage regardless of motherhood, but this attitude seemed to decrease over the years abroad, while completion of education became a more important criterion. Women insisted more on education and men more on age.

An analysis by age showed that older people tended to define responsibility on an economic basis; for both men and women the increasing trend was to consider women responsible from the moment they become self-supporting.

Guskin concluded: "We can say that students of both sexes do not seem to consider themselves to be responsible adults while they are still in school."<sup>4</sup> The author saw

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>"Roasting" refers to the ancient custom of lying by a charcoal brazier after childbirth. This practice was based on the theory that at such time there is a diminution of heat in the body which affects blood circulation and may result in some unhealthy condition of the mother.

<sup>3</sup>de Young, op. cit. p. 58.

<sup>4</sup>Guskin, op. cit. p. 60.

the reason for this state of affairs in the authoritarian pattern of behavior of the Thai teachersa "...outward subservience is in fact expected by the teachers and given by the students...it is the accepted cultural norm and one would be suspect if he did not outwardly follow these norms."<sup>1</sup> In the light of the present data, however, this explanation seems weak since education as a standard of responsibility is emphasized more by those who have been the longest away from the authoritarian climate of Thai institutions and have presumably been more influenced by the American society.

Responsible adults and young people form two separate categories of society: this division corresponds to the legal distinction between majority and minority. At one point an individual passes from one category to the other. Traditionally in Thailand, this transition was done through the Buddhist ordination or marriage for boys, and through marriage or motherhood for girls. But as the educated elite of the country becomes more secular in its way of thinking, the Sangkha loses some of its importance as a universal symbol of transition into adulthood. Moreover, marriage, for those who go on to higher studies, has to be delayed much beyond the age at which one could be considered mature and self-responsible. Therefore, these two ritualistic means of being incorporated into adult society lose their meaning and something more secular and independent of marriage tends to take their place.

Graduation seems the logical choice. After an individual's education is over, he is usually ready to assume the responsibilities of adulthood and he is officially proclaimed so during an imposing ceremony at which both parents and teachers are present. Later, if he wants to spend a few months in a Buddhist monastery, it will be considered a laudable private act of devotion, but it will no longer be a sign of readiness to accept responsibility. As for marriage, an increasing number of students consider it a state which is not necessarily related to maturity, but which comes as the result of a subsequent choice.

### Dating

The word "dating" does not exist in the Thai language; neither does the custom, however, there are many oppor-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

tunities for boys and girls to meet. One respondent gave an accurate description of this situation: "I don't know whether or not you understand Thai customs; we in Thailand do not confine our children to the house, except for a small minority of very rich people. Young people get together at work, at religious festivals, or at some other social entertainment. Boys and girls meet each other all the time but they are not allowed to meet alone.<sup>1</sup>" This is the pattern described by de Young and Benedict.<sup>1</sup> These two authors also note that in spite of a reasonable amount of freedom in the relationships between boys and girls, they are not supposed to touch one another before marriage, although this custom has not been strictly followed by sophisticated young people in Bangkok.

The students' attitudes on dating were measured by three questions on the way it should be done, the kind of dating advocated, and its importance. In Question 55 Thai students were asked their opinion on how dates (literally: appointment between persons of different sexes) should be conducted.<sup>a</sup>

According to the traditional Thai way.

In large groups.

With a chaperone.

Alone.

Alone if in love.

In the presence of the parents.

In the presence of some relatives.

One should not date.

Of the Chulalongkorn survey subjects, 66 percent thought that dating should correspond to the traditional customs of the land, i.e., "The Thai way," "In large groups," "With a chaperone,"<sup>a</sup> or "In the presence of the parents."<sup>a</sup> This proportion dropped to 44 percent of the Thai students newly arrived in the United States, and to 24 percent of those who had been in this country for more than four years. Similarly, those accepting Western dating, i.e., "alone,"<sup>a</sup> or

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<sup>1</sup>de Young, op. cit., p. 61; and Benedict, op. cit., p. 20.

TABLE 18. Attitudes On The Way Dating Should Be Done By Length of Stay In The United States (Percentage In Each Category)

Months in the United States	Number	Thai Way <sup>a</sup>	With Chaperone <sup>b</sup>	Alone	Alone if in Love	No Dating	No Answer
1- 6	62	27.2	17.7	8.1	43.5	3.2	---
7-18	342	25.1	14.6	15.5	43.0	0.9	0.8
19-30	214	20.5	15.0	16.3	47.2	---	0.9
31-54	162	18.5	9.2	20.4	49.4	---	2.5
55-over	100	23.0	1.0	33.0	37.0	---	6.0
University students in Thailand <sup>c</sup>	2,878	22.4	44.0	4.7	18.7	8.4	1.8

<sup>a</sup>This category includes "Thai way" and "In large groups."

<sup>b</sup>This category combines "With chaperone," "In the presence of the parents," and "In the presence of relatives."

<sup>c</sup>These percentages are computed from the data in Guskin, op. cit., p. 79.



"alone if in love," represented 23 percent of Guskin's sampling, 51 percent of the newly arrived in the United States, and 70 percent of those having been in this country over four years. On this item, an analysis by age did not show any difference at all. These figures indicate a substantial change over the years.

The same trend appears in the distribution of answers to Question 56. Thai students were asked to select one of the following statements, "I think that young people":

Should have dates with different partners as often as possible.

Should have dates only with the person they will marry.

Should have dates with the person they think they will marry but can change for a new partner if things do not work out.

Should never have a date.

Thai students who have spent a longer period of time in the United States show a tendency favoring dating, whether or not marriage is the goal of such an activity; 24 percent of the students feel that way when they first come to the United States, and 45 percent after four years. An analysis by age shows exactly an opposite trend: among younger students 45 percent favor dating as often as possible, while only 18 percent of the older students do so. Older people as well as new arrivals tend to view dating in terms of a preparation for marriage. This traditional attitude of the more recently arrived students is also reflected in the fact that a greater number of them think that dating should take place only between people who are to be married. Such dating is, in their mind, tantamount to an engagement, since people thus dating are not expected to change partners later.

A similar pattern of attitudes can be seen in the responses to Question 57. Thai students were asked to select one of the following reasons for the importance of dating:

It is fun (sanuk).

It will make me accepted socially.

It enables people to know each other.

It enables people to know their future companion before marriage.

Dating is not important.

The reactions of the newly arrived students are traditional: dating is important because it enables the individual to know his future marriage partner. But gradually, social relations between boys and girls are seen in terms of getting to know other people, without specific references to marriage. Here again the analysis by age shows a completely opposite trend: only 34 percent of the younger students look at dating with a specific reference to marriage while 76 percent of the older students do so; 47 percent of the younger students think that dating simply enables them to know one another in general, while only 15 percent of the older ones feel the same way.

These questions have elicited a number of comments which clarify further the responses given. Dating is an area where these young people ask themselves what type of behavior they should adopt. In Thailand they have seen a great number of American movies which exposed them to a very different kind of culture. But, somehow, this way of life remained part of a world of fantasy. The life presented on the screen was that of another country, fun (sanuk) to watch but having little to do, if anything, with the way they were personally expected to behave. Thus a student said: "Different countries have different traditions. To take the culture of one country and try to introduce it into another is not good."

But then, as Thai students come to the United States and see for themselves how things really are, they begin to alter their ways of thinking. "A judgment on dating depends on many things and circumstances," said another student. "If I were in Thailand I would certainly say that dating should be done according to Thai customs. Now that I am in the United States, I don't know." Thai students accept slowly the mores of their new environment and see some advantages to the system of dating as it is practiced in the United States. "There should be some kind of activities between boys and girls, but not too much, just enough to enable one to know other people." Finally, some of the students come to accept unconditionally a new morality as, for instance, this boy who said: "When you have a date you feel happy; kissing, dancing, going to the movies, listening to records, all these are good."

## Marriage Choice

According to Blanchard, boys and girls enjoy a relatively great amount of freedom in making their marriage decisions<sup>a</sup> "In most cases young people select their own marriage partners, although the parents maintain some control by encouraging their sons and daughters to become acquainted only with other 'better young people'; parents can also freely express their disapproval of a proposed match and their advice is usually taken."<sup>1</sup> This description itself represents a certain evolution in Thai customs. Originally parents had a more important role in arranging marriages<sup>a</sup> although the wishes of sons and daughters were usually taken into account.

In Question 58 Thai students were asked who should make the decision concerning their future spouse. They were given four alternatives:

Myself.

Myself with the consent of my parents.

My parents should choose for me.

Someone else (specify).

On the question of marriage choice there is a trend towards greater independence. This trend is much stronger among boys: 59 percent said that they would like to select their future marriage partner by themselves, while only 25 percent of the girls felt that way. In this respect<sup>a</sup> girls seemed to be relatively unaffected by the American way of life: among the students of the Chulalongkorn study, 79 percent of the girls had also indicated that their choice of a future husband should be made by themselves as well as by their parents.<sup>2</sup>

Very few of the Thai students in the United States said that the decision regarding their marriage partner should be made by their parents only. The arranging of marriages without consulting the wishes of the children has probably never been as absolute in Thailand as in some other Asian countries. There have always been numerous opportunities for young people to know each other and to establish some form of courtship. Parents were to be consulted

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<sup>1</sup>Blanchard, op. cit.<sup>a</sup> p. 434.

<sup>2</sup>Guskin, op. cit.<sup>a</sup> p. 76.

TABLE 19. Attitudes On Who Should Select One's Marriage Partner By Length of Stay in the United States (Percentage In Each Category)

Months in the United States	Number	Myself	Myself with Parents	Someone Else <sup>a</sup>
1- 6	62	43.5	51.7	4.8
7-18	342	42.3	58.2	1.5
19-30	214	45.4	52.3	2.3
31-54	162	50.6	49.4	---
55-over	100	63.0	37.0	---
University students in Thailand <sup>b</sup>	2,878	29.4	66.9	3.7

<sup>a</sup>This category includes the response "My parents should choose for me."<sup>d</sup>

<sup>b</sup>These percentages are computed from the data in Guskin, op. cit., p. 76.

and they were the ones who through go-betweens, carried out the contractual formalities; by and large, however, the choice of a partner was that of the young people themselves.

A respondent's comment on this problem may further clarify what he calls the customs of the ordinary people: "Buddhism teaches people to use their intelligence to know the world around themselves, to perceive differences and make judgments. Therefore there are very few parents who try to confine their children to their homes."<sup>d</sup> In other words, it is Buddhist wisdom to teach children to make their own choices with the approval of their parents, after having had an opportunity to see and judge. Young people who study abroad carry this principle one step farther: they decide by themselves without consulting their parents. At least that is what they say they would like to do.

### Duties of Husbands and Wives

Thai students were asked to specify their attitudes on the most important duties of a husband in Question 59. They were asked to select two of the following duties:

- (1) To be the head of the family.
- (2) To help raise the children.
- (3) To prepare his children for a career.
- (4) To be honest with his wife and children.
- (5) To protect his family.
- (6) To provide money.
- (7) To administer the family's financial matters.

The data indicate that Thai students expect a good husband to be, first of all, the head of the family. He is also expected to be faithful to his wife and his children, and to protect his family. The obligation to provide for the money needed to support the family, or the obligation to look after the education of the children (choices 2 and 3) are mentioned only by a few.

In Question 60 Thai students were asked to select the two most important duties of a wife.

- (1) To have children.
- (2) To be a housewife.
- (3) To feed the children.
- (4) To alleviate the husband's burden.
- (5) To be a companion to her husband in times of trouble.
- (6) To manage the family's money.
- (7) To look after the family's happiness and relieve its sorrow.
- (8) To provide education for the children.
- (9) To find extra money.
- (10) To work outside the home.



Thai students think that the most important duty of a wife is to provide companionship for her husband. She is also expected to be a housewife and look after the general well-being of the family. Other responsibilities, e.g., the care and education of the children, and the management of the financial affairs of the family are mentioned by only a few students.

An analysis by length of stay in the United States for these two questions on the duties of a husband and a wife failed to elicit any difference in the responses of the five groups. Moreover, this pattern of answers is fairly similar to the pattern obtained in the Chulalongkorn study.

Some sex differences exist on both questions. Girls stress the obligation of a husband to be faithful to his wife, while boys insist on the role of a husband as protector of the family; girls are more insistent on the wife's obligation to look after the well-being of the family in general, while boys stress her obligation to be a housewife.

Two comments can be made on these results. First, parental duties are not perceived in terms of specific obligations, e.g., the care and education of the children or the economic needs of the household, but rather in terms of general responsibilities, such as the welfare of the family. This could be due to the particular family pattern found in Thailand. It is a part of what Embree calls a "loosely structured social system."<sup>1</sup> Basically the Thai family is a nuclear family, but, as noted recently by Phillips,<sup>2</sup> this basic pattern exists in a variety of forms. Along with a man and his wife and their children, one often finds one, two, or sometimes all grandparents, other relatives, or adopted children. Within such a context it becomes more difficult to specify the duties of husbands and wives and a more general obligation is given, such as the well-being of the whole family.

The absence of differences in this area, among the groups who were in the United States for various lengths of time, could be an indication of the stability of these attitudes. A comparison with the answers of the students of Guskin's survey shows only a few differences. Thai students

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<sup>1</sup>Embree, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Phillips, op. cit., p. 22.

in the United States insist more on the duty of a husband to be head of the family, and on the duty of a wife to be a companion to her husband. There are no equivalent data on the attitudes of American university students, therefore there is no way of knowing how the patterns of attitudes differ, or whether the American environment could have induced new ways of thinking.

It is possible that, given the loosely structured aspect of the entire social system in Thailand, and of the Thai family in particular, questions in this area are not likely to produce different sets of answers, especially when the answers are formulated in broad categories such as "Head of family," "Care of children," or "Well-being of the family."<sup>1</sup>

#### Desired Number of Children

The average Thai family has between five and six persons, as reported in the 1960 census.<sup>1</sup> This has been a fairly stable number, at least for recent years, since Benedict quotes a 1930 survey giving the same figures.<sup>2</sup>

Thai students were asked in Question 62 the number of children they would like to have. Fifty-seven percent of the students chose the category "between one and three," 23 percent "one or two," 15 percent "four or more."<sup>3</sup> Three percent of the respondents didn't want any children at all. No trend relating to length of stay in the United States could be found. An analysis by age, however, showed that older students desire more children; among the younger group, 33 percent indicated "one or two" children, and 42 percent "between one and three."<sup>4</sup> Among the students of the older group, this proportion became 20 percent and 73 percent respectively. Men desired more children than women, as was also reported in the Chulalongkorn study.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Office of the Prime Minister, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>Benedict, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>3</sup>Guskin, op. cit., p. 103.

### Authority in the Family

Two questions were designed to explore Thai students' attitudes on the authority pattern in the Thai family. Question 61 asked: "Who should make the decision when the family has a problem?" The respondents could choose among the followinga

The father.

The mother.

Both parentsa

The paternal grandparents.

The maternal grandparents.

All grandparents.

Everyone in the housea

Only 14.3 percent of the respondents indicated that the father alone should make decisions when the family is faced with a problem. The percentage indicating the same response in the Chulalongkorn study was 14.8 percent. The most common response, given by 50.6 percent of the subjects, was that both parents should try to find a solution to problems. There was also a large number of students, 31.6 percent, who felt that everyone in the house should be consulted when decisions are to be made. Attitudes on the position of the father remained more or less constant over the years abroad, but there was a trend, contrary to that shown in an analysis by age, to stress the authority of both parents. The response that either both parents or all in the house solve problems does not necessarily reflect a democratic pattern of decision-making whereby all are consulted and the course of action follows the majority vote.

An insight as to where authority lies in the family is given by the comments of some students: "The person who should decide is the one who has the ability to do so in the family." "The decision belongs to whoever has the authority in the house; this responsibility could belong to the senior person in the house, the father, the mother, or someone else." These comments could be interpreted as meaning that the authority, as far as decision-making is concerned, does not necessarily belong to the father, but varies from place to place, and varies also according to the nature of the problems to be settled. The family's financial matters, for instance, are often in the hands of the mother.

This pattern of decision-making corresponds to the structural looseness of the family. The trend related to a longer exposure to the American environment might be explained by the fact that students who have lived longer in the United States tend to conceive the family according to the American pattern where both parents usually make decisions.

The second question related to the pattern of authority in the family, Question 65, asked Thai students to whom they would go when they are faced with a problem. Ten possibilities were listed:

My father.

My mother.

My parents.

My grandparents.

My relatives.

My brothers and sisters.

A close friend of the same sex.

A close friend of the opposite sex.

My teacher.

I do not go to anyone.

In an analysis by length of stay in the United States only one trend is apparent. Among certain students the reliance on a friend of the same sex tends to lose importance for those who have been away from home for a longer period of time. In general, the advice of parents is sought. The father, the mother, or both parents are mentioned in 47 percent of the answers. This reaction is stronger among girls than among boys: 55.7 percent against 42.6 percent. Fifteen percent of the students settle their problems alone and do not seek advice from anyone. Fourteen percent of the boys rely on a friend of the same sex; only six percent of the girls do so. The remaining answers are scattered among the other possible categories, i.e., relatives, brothers and sisters, a friend of the opposite sex.

A large number of respondents explained their choice. Many said that the person they would ask depended on the

nature of the problem. Some indicated that for personal problems they would consult a Buddhist monk; others, when faced with financial trouble would have recourse to their parents. Finally, several students declared that they would first try to solve the problem by themselves; if they couldn't, they would go to whomever has the ability to help them.

Reliance on parents is, understandably enough, heavier among younger students, 63 percent for the youngest group as opposed to 39 percent for the oldest. More older students rely on a friend of the same sex. The older students also tend to answer this question by a qualified statement in the category "other" rather than select one of the available categories.

What de Young said of the position of the father in the Thai peasant family can be applied with little variation to the Thai family in general: "Although the father is regarded as the head of the house and children are expected to obey him, the Thai farm family is not a strict, authoritarian one as is the farm family of Japan or China. Thai farm children are brought up to show respect and deference to the family head, but his orders are not obeyed as absolute commands....Within the family it is the mother who inculcates the children with the proper family precepts, but these are taught as the proper way for a child to behave rather than as absolute, mandatory rules."<sup>1</sup>

### Summary

The attitudes considered in this chapter dealt with some aspects of marriage and marriage preparation encountered by young people. Most of the differences noted were related to dating behavior, while attitudes on family life seemed to remain stable throughout the years spent away from Thailand.

First, maturity, or the age at which a young man or a young woman is considered responsible, tends to be defined less in terms of marriage, as found in the traditional cultural patterns of the country, and more in relation to completion of education. It is almost as if graduation, at the end of senior school or after standard VI, conferred

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<sup>1</sup>de Young, op. cit., p. 24.



upon the individual some magical quality which enabled him to join the adult world.

There are also striking differences in attitudes on dating. Although traditional Thai customs allowed many opportunities for boys and girls to meet in public, students who have been abroad desire more intimacy in their dating behavior. The trend in attitudes is toward more freedom in social relationships between the sexes. Although a sizeable number of students think of dating in terms of preparation for marriage, as if only people who intend to get married should date, there is a definite trend towards allowing young boys and girls to go out together more freely, just to become acquainted.

The role of parents in marriage choices tends to be diminished. The decision concerning one's future marriage partner is seen more and more as something strictly personal. On the other hand, no perceptible attitude difference has been found on some concepts related to the structure of the family. Because of the absence of rigidly defined statuses and behavior in the family, roles are less clearly perceived and, consequently, attitudes are less subject to change. Thus a Thai husband is seen as the head of the family; he protects it and is faithful to its members. His wife is his companion and provides for the well-being of the family in general. The care of children is not perceived as one of the primary concerns of Thai parents. The desired size of a family remains what it has been for generations, i.e., about five members. Finally, the authority in the family is not always seen as the prerogative of the same member; it seems to vary from household to household, although there is a slight tendency over the years away from Thailand to emphasize parental authority.

The findings of this chapter indicate a desire on the part of Thai students in the United States for greater individual freedom and autonomy in social relationships between sexes, within the comfortable context of the traditional and loosely structured family system of their country.

## IX. CONCLUSIONS

The nature of this research was primarily descriptive. At this point, however, an attempt is made to go beyond the content of the findings and to offer some theoretical and practical conclusions.

### Thai Personality: A Filter of the Environment

The dynamics of attitude change in Thai students seem to follow a definite pattern related to their own national characteristics. In a more universal form this statement would read: the American environment does different things to different national groups.

In his report on Changing Values in College, Jacob noted the significance of various personality factors in determining what the students get out of their education. The author suggested that "the response of students to education, especially general education, is vitally conditioned by their own personalities. A course or curriculum, a teacher, or even a college as a whole, will affect students differently, depending on what type of person they are. The educational impact is twisted and redirected by its collision with a particular student's personality. The personality acts as a filter, allowing only certain elements from the education process to get through to the student and influence him."<sup>1</sup>

Jacob's comment about individual students could be applied to groups of students in general, and more specifically to national groups, such as the Thai students in the United States. Groups or societies, like individuals, have "personalities" or common traits which constitute the object of social research. Thus Jacob tells of the "peculiar potency of some colleges"<sup>2</sup> and McClelland deals with

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<sup>1</sup>Jacob, op. cit., p. 118; and Barton, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>Jacob, op. cit., p. 99.

the achievement motivations of certain societies to find an explanation for their different rates and levels of economic development.<sup>1</sup>

The present survey of attitudes also indicated certain personality characteristics of the Thai people which become manifest in the process of change and condition it. A thorough examination of this phenomenon would lead to theoretical considerations extending far beyond the scope and competence of the present inquiry. However it seems appropriate to indicate in broad terms the relationship between certain national characteristics of the Thai and the process of change as inferred from the data presented in the preceding pages.

These relevant characteristics of the Thai people can be specified in terms of social structures, perception of stimuli, and specific behavior patterns. Three types of structures can be observed in modern Thai society. There are, first of all, those structures gradually disappearing or losing impact, such as Buddhism as a religious system. The second type consists of structures characterized by loosely organized patterns, such as the family where obligations and responsibilities allow for a wide range of roles and functions. Finally, there are some well-defined or closed structures as can be observed in the pattern of social stratification where prestige and status-seeking mechanisms play an important role, for instance in government and education.

Stimuli in this survey are made up of the total foreign environment in which Thai students live while away from home. This new environment includes a wide variety of contexts; all American academic communities are far from being alike, as many recent studies have made clear.<sup>2</sup> Differences in types of campus climates cannot be studied with a population such as the present one because of the small numbers of students in each institution. However, taken as a whole, these stimuli can be considered from the

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<sup>1</sup>David C. McClelland, The Achieving Society (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1961).

<sup>2</sup>Jacob, op. cit.; Robert C. Pace, "Implications of Differences in Campus Atmosphere for Evaluating and Planning of College Programs," Personality Factors on the College Campus, ed. Robert L. Sutherland et al. (Austin: The Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, 1962); and Educational Reviewer, Inc., op. cit.

point of view of the students' perceptions, and the particular valences, positive, negative or neutral, which accompany these perceptions. Valence is used here in the usual sense, i.e., the attracting or repelling influence of objects and activities. The American dating pattern, for instance, is appealing to Thai students; its perception has a positive valence. Perceived national status, on the other hand, is low and therefore entails a negative valence. Teacher and student characteristics and relationships are seen in the same light in Thailand and the United States; there seems to be little negative or positive feeling attached to these perceptions; their valence is neutral.

Finally there are certain behavior patterns of the Thai which condition the students' responses to the perceived environment. Those which have been described in the preceding chapters include "the cool heart" (choei), "fun loving" (sanuk), and prestige seeking. One or the other of these characteristics interacts with the environment according to the valence of the perception. In the case of perceived national status, for instance, which is low, the students, instead of being disturbed, simply maintain a "cool heart" and their answer is choei. But in attitudes on courtship where the American way of life reinforces the strong individualistic Thai character, the longing for sanuk enters and results in significant changes.

Fading structures, because their influence is declining, entail only weak valences. Attitudes related to such structures are not well defined; they seem to change and point to a new emerging order of things; Buddhism, for instance, is losing some of its religious significance for the educated class and it gives way to a new moral order, naturalistic and secular.

Loosely structured social institutions already provide the individual with a comfortable pattern of life, and consequently show little tendency to change. It is precisely the characteristic of this type of structure to admit a variety of behaviors within a frame of reference only broadly defined.

Changes are more likely to occur in attitudes which stem from highly structured social institutions or customs but only in instances where the stimulus leading to change involves a positive valence. In cases of conflict, rather than be disturbed, the Thai maintain their equanimity of heart; their attitudes remain unaltered. In other words, change occurs in two cases. The first instance exists in a situation where the original structure is losing some of its impact and the vacuum left behind calls for new frames

of reference. The second instance exists when there is a conflict between the old established order and the new perceived model of behavior, but only where the new order entails a positive valence and therefore appears as sanuk. If the conflict is related to a negative or neutral valence, or if it is a stimulus referring to loosely structured areas, there is very little change. Since many aspects of Thai society are loosely structured, as Embree pointed out,<sup>1</sup> and since there are relatively few aspects of other cultures which are more sanuk than its own, it would appear that the Thai personality has a built-in mechanism to resist change.

New attitudes and new patterns of behavior are accepted mainly in instances where they are perceived as pleasant. They are incorporated into a way of life which in spite of foreign influences maintains an identity of its own. A visual illustration of this attitude is found in Wat Benchamabopitr, one of the famous temples in Bangkok. It is built with Italian marble mosaics and Chinese glazed tiles, but the result is clearly a masterpiece of Thai art. Such selective borrowing from other cultures entails, of course, a certain kind of eclecticism, but this practice does not disturb the Thai who generally think in concrete and particularistic terms. They are little concerned with general abstractions; they live in the "here and now" which they try to make as comfortable and free of problems as possible. Thus Riggs in his study of Thai association processes declares

Unlike the Confucian trained intellectuals of China who wrestled stubbornly with the problem of how to reconcile Chinese cultural values with Western materialism and science, the Thai tend to accept anything which appeals directly to them as having value regardless of whether or not it conflicts with other accepted values. Hence they may take as equally useful Western medical notions and traditional concepts of spirit possession as cause of disease. Truth is not perceived in either/or terms, and propositions are judged on the basis of their empirical usefulness. The Thai were pragmatists long before the philosophy of pragmatism was invented.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Embree, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Fred W. Riggs, "Interest and Clientele Groups: Group Theory and Government," Problems of Politics and Administration in Thailand, ed. Joseph L. Sutton (Bloomington: Institute of Training for Public Service, Indiana University, 1962), pp. 181-82.



There is, however, a positive side to this state of affairs. The dynamics of behavior just described also account for the pleasant personality of the Thai: they know how to avoid disturbing clashes and are always open to fun-promising experiences. Above all they highly value individual independence within a social system imposing upon them the minimum amount of external regimentation.

### Practical Issues

The present study began with the problem of whether a program of exchange of students would be beneficial to the socio-economic growth of Thailand. Trends in attitude changes could be, as many behavioral scientists believe, an indicator of the possible contribution of an academic experience abroad to social change and economic development at home.

Although the process of attitude change among Thai students is a selective one, related to the characteristics of the Thai personality, there are indications, at least in two areas, which seem to hold some promise of a positive contribution. In the area of occupational values there is a tendency towards a more functional conception of work, a greater reliance on personal abilities and a greater willingness to take risks. In their attitudes on education, students do profit from their academic experience in the same manner in which students in general become more devoted to the pursuit of knowledge. Will these tendencies give rise to a new generation of Thai entrepreneurs?

A definitive answer to this question could be given only in terms of more research. For instance, a longitudinal study of returned students would show to what extent the impact of their experience abroad is a lasting one. It would then become possible to determine whether their newly acquired attitudes become operative in their professional lives, or whether they slowly fade away while former traditional motivational mechanisms return.

Some years ago Embree took a pessimistic view of this problem and said,

Thai students, when they return home after a period of years abroad, find it difficult to readjust to Thai life. They are not content with some lowly office job or teaching post, but feel they must head a department or a laboratory, and if not, that their talents are wasted. The net

result is that many of these returned students enter politics or try to manage an import-export company or, better still, obtain a government appointment overseas. Thus the returned Thai student often does not join the lower ranks of a body of other Thai scholars and scientists and so build up a strong university or research center. Each man rather tries somehow to exploit the prestige value of his foreign residence so as to obtain a pleasant post.<sup>1</sup>

These comments were written fifteen years ago. Today, perhaps, one ought not to paint the picture in such dark hues. Many things have happened since 1950. The economy of Thailand, although still in its infancy, has begun to expand. There has been an increase in private industry and private employment. Each year there are more and more university and secondary school graduates, along with a large number of returned foreign-trained professionals, to meet the demands of a more diversified economy. Government positions are no longer the only enviable jobs. The imminent danger of war and the presence of thousands of United States servicemen in the country have developed a new sense of urgency among people anxious to maintain their long cherished tradition of freedom. Within such a context the possibilities of finding a meaningful and productive occupation have greatly increased.

The importance of the role to be played by returned students depends also on the fact that change in Thailand has traditionally been initiated by the elite groups from which it has flowed to all levels of society. Thus the 1932 revolution was in no way a popular movement but the achievement of a small European trained elite who had been influenced by the political thinking of Paris in the 1920s. As monarchs and royal princes had done in a previous age, the new political leadership began to dictate a new spirit and initiate change.

It is therefore very likely that Thai students abroad, who represent a substantial segment of the leadership of tomorrow, will become active ingredients of the Thai society. Part of this influence will undoubtedly be political, since the country has not yet reached a definitive and stable form of government. But hopefully, influence from the top will also extend to other areas vital to the making of a

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<sup>1</sup>Embree, op. cit., p. 191.

modern society. New values and attitudes acquired while studying in the West might filter down to the rest of society. Thus returned students could become agents of Westernization in the best sense of the word. Yet, as Wilson says, it will be "Westernization with a difference, resulting from design and milieu."<sup>1</sup> It will be a Westernization which operates selectively in terms of both elements and sources.

One further question remains<sup>a</sup> are the trends described in the present report peculiar to years of study abroad, or are they merely the fruit of prolonged academic training? Again the answer to this question belongs to further research. At present there are no equivalent data on students in Thailand which could be compared to the results obtained in the present survey. For that matter, there is probably no matched group of students in Thailand comparable to the group of students going abroad because the local facilities for graduate studies remain limited. Comparisons with the findings of Guskin who surveyed Thai college students showed large differences. But Guskin did not analyze trends in terms of amount of education and therefore no comparison of trends was possible.

In the area of educational values, it seems that changes in attitudes follow a pattern similar to what has been observed on American campuses. This might be an indication that, on this point, an academic experience has the same impact regardless of national context. If there were Thai universities similar to those found in the United States, one might expect the same results. In other areas, however, such as in occupational values and attitudes on courtship and family life, trends in attitudes seem to be related to a specific environment, different from that of the country of origin.

Based upon the insights gathered through the months of research spent on this project a few practical suggestions are given below in the hope that they might prove useful to policy makers and educational planners concerned with the modern growth of Thailand. These suggestions fall into two groups: recommendations for further research and suggestions for educational effectiveness and planning.

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson, op. cit., p. 67.

### Recommendations for Further Study

1. Education and attitude change in Thailand. Guskin's first efforts at exploring the patterns of attitudes of Thai students should be followed by longitudinal and experimental studies. This would provide some understanding of the process of education in Thailand and indicate trends of change.
2. Impact of education in other countries. Several other countries are playing host to Thai students seeking higher degrees: e.g., France, England, Germany, and Japan. A comparative study of the effects of these different environments on attitudes and values would enable one to show the difference in results, the possible advantages of each national context, and it would offer evidence to determine guidelines and priorities.
3. Benefit of international education. Further studies are needed to determine what kind of academic experience abroad is more useful, at what particular moment in the students' lives, and at what type of institution. Are students to be sent away for graduate work and post graduate work only? What is the ideal length of time spent in another country? What age is most suitable? Should students be required to have some work experience at home before going to foreign lands?
4. Follow-up studies of returnees. The importance of the program of exchange of students consists mainly in what happens after the return home. Follow-up studies would shed some light on the problem of readjustment. It would indicate what aspects of the international educational experience are most useful with the passage of time. It could help to determine its long range impact on the social and economic development of the country.
5. Dynamics of attitude change among Thai people. The model on the dynamics of attitude change outlined above could be tested experimentally to determine whether it represents a fundamental characteristic of the Thai people. The same model could also be applied to other populations of foreign students to see to what extent this pattern of attitude change is a universal phenomenon.

Suggestions for the Practitioner

1. Guidance program and university selection techniques. The number of "reluctant recruits" in several occupations indicates the need for the establishment of a guidance program in those secondary schools where such a program is non-existent at the present time, and for the improvement of whatever program might already be in existence. This state of affairs also points to the need of improving the present admission system in the different departments of Thai universities. Specific requirements should be set for each field of study in order to admit only those who qualify for certain types of studies.
2. Fostering of graduate work in Thailand. Thailand cannot depend forever on foreign-trained graduate students only to meet the growing national demands for high level personnel. It is therefore urgent to improve local universities in order to provide a greater number of young Thai with the opportunity for higher training. Besides there is some evidence that individuals who have received a higher degree of training at home profit more from international education. There is also the fact that many of the benefits sought in such programs could be secured in Thailand if there were a greater effort to improve the local educational facilities. From the strictly economical point of view, such improvement along with the import of foreign scholars would cost less than the sponsoring of large programs of exchange and would profit many more young people.
3. Selection of students to be sent abroad. The actual distribution of students by fields of study does not correspond to the needs of the country, as specified by official long range estimates for manpower needs. Effort should be made to coordinate the programs of Thai and foreign governments and also of private sponsoring agencies in order to remedy this situation. Self-financed students could at least be made aware of the anticipated needs of their country.
4. Contact with Thai students abroad. Students away from their country can easily lose contact with its problems. A weekly newsletter especially designed for this purpose would not only keep the students informed of local events, but it could



also bring to their attention the needs and problems of the nation. It would offer some factual knowledge which could help to formulate plans for the future in more meaningful terms. Such a publication would serve as a reminder that much is expected from these privileged few.

5. Placement after completion of studies. Foreign-trained personnel constitute an invaluable pool of resources for the country. Except for the minority of government sponsored students, there is no general planning nor is there any placement service which would enable individuals to select the occupation best suited to their abilities. A central coordinating agency could do much to foster such a goal.
6. Communication between returnees and the West. An educational experience abroad should not end with the landing of a plane at Don Muang Air Terminal. During those months professional contacts have been made and the individual's world has been enlarged. Such accrued benefits could be made to last through closer professional ties either through membership in professional societies or subscriptions to relevant journals. Professional societies could also be established in Thailand and these could keep in contact with their counterparts abroad.

Research in Thailand, not only in education, but in all areas in general, has just begun. It will be some time before decisions will be made on the strength of scientific data pertaining specifically to local situations. In the meantime, planning and action will have to rely on educated guesses based on the meager amount of available evidence and on the growing number of research efforts exploring the different aspects of Thai life.

No nation today can be an isolated island. Students who travel abroad constitute one of the factors contributing to greater international communication and understanding. These young people, leaving their homeland to improve themselves professionally, are doing more than merely traveling from shore to shore. They are building bridges, they are opening channels of interaction, they are tying nations and continents more firmly together.

Moreover, postwar technology has made possible not only mass travel, educational or otherwise, but also international mass communication. The moving image in films or

on the television screens has become a universal language passing across national and geographical boundaries. It is now possible to foresee a time when communication techniques will reach an unprecedented stage of development. Individuals, organizations, universities, and governments will be able to establish contact with one another, anywhere in the world and at any time, either by voice, sight, or document. As the tide of telecommunications increases it will cause the disappearance of insular institutions.

As a result of these developments people will be interacting more than ever before on a universal basis. The process observed among the group of Thai students in the United States in 1965 is likely to become, to a certain extent, a universal phenomenon in Thailand in the years to come.

Thailand, as the other countries of the world, will gradually cease to be an island. There is likely to be a universalization of attitudes. If the description of the pattern of attitude change emerging from the preceding pages is to be the norm of what is to come, one could predict that the Thai's strong sense of identity will enable them to retain their basic national characteristics while assimilating those aspects of foreign cultures and civilizations enabling them to lead a better life.

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## APPENDIX

A. COVERING LETTER MAILED WITH QUESTIONNAIRE

# OFFICE OF DOCTORAL STUDIES

TEACHERS COLLEGE  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

๒๕ มีนาคม ๒๕๐๔

## เพื่อนนักศึกษาที่รัก

คำถามในแบบสอบถามอันนี้ มุ่งที่จะสำรวจทัศนคติ  
(attitudes) ของนักศึกษาไทยที่กำลังศึกษาอยู่ในสหรัฐอเมริกา เพื่อนำไป  
ใช้ประกอบในการเขียนวิทยานิพนธ์สำหรับปริญญาโทศึกษาศาสตร์ Teachers  
College, Columbia University

จุดมุ่งหมายของวิทยานิพนธ์เพื่อสำรวจความสนใจและ  
ปฏิกิริยา (reactions) ของนักศึกษาไทยที่มีต่อปัญหาต่างๆ เป็นทวน  
ถวนสังคม, ถวนศาสนา, และถวนการศึกษา ฯลฯ

การศึกษาค้นคว้าในตำานนี้ จะเป็นประโยชน์ทั้งต่อการ  
จัดโปรแกรมการศึกษาของนักศึกษาชาวไทยในต่างประเทศ และ ต่อแผน  
การพัฒนาประเทศไทย

เมื่อท่านได้ตอบคำถามต่างๆ ในแบบสอบถามนี้ทุกข้อแล้ว กรุณาใช้ซองที่แนบมานี้ส่งคืนให้ข้าพเจ้าด้วย

ขอขอบพระคุณที่ท่านได้ใช้เวลาในการให้ความช่วยเหลือครั้งนี้ ข้าพเจ้านับใจจากการสำรวจครั้งนี้จะโดยคุ้มค่ากับเวลาที่ท่านได้เสียสละในความร่วมมือ

## ขอแสดงความนับถือ

Dr. C. C. C. C. C.

พล.ท. ห้อง ประมวลรัตน์  
ที่ปรึกษาการศึกษาประจำสถาน  
เอกอัครราชทูต ณ กรุงวอชิงตัน

Geni Baum

Jean Barry  
34 West 134th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10032

B. ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE COVERING LETTER  
MAILED WITH THE QUESTIONNAIRE

March 25, 1965

Dear Student:

Enclosed here is a questionnaire designed as part of a survey of the attitudes of the Thai students in America and conducted in connection with a doctoral research project at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Briefly, this study is concerned with finding out how Thai students respond to certain statements about various social, religious, and educational problems.

We feel that a research of this nature will help to gather important knowledge on some aspects of the Thai program of studies abroad and will be of interest to those concerned with the development of Thailand.

Upon completion of the questionnaire would you please return it in the enclosed envelope.

Thank you for your time and help with this undertaking. I am sure that the value of this survey will justify the time required to participate.

Yours truly,

Lt. Gen. Fong Pramualratana  
Education Counselor  
The Royal Thai Embassy  
Washington, D.C.

Jean Barry  
34 West 134 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10037

## C. QUESTIONNAIRE

## แบบสอบถาม

โปรดอย่าเขียนชื่อของท่านในแบบสอบถามนี้, สำหรับคำถามที่มีคำตอบให้แล้ว กรุณาวงรอบตัวเลขที่อยู่หน้าคำตอบที่ต้องการ ส่วนคำถามที่มีช่องว่างไว้ให้ กรุณาเขียนคำตอบของท่านลงไปในห้องว่างนั้นด้วย

1. อายุนับจากวันครบรอบวันเกิดครั้งสุดท้าย
  1. ๒๐ หรือต่ำกว่านั้น
  2. ๒๑-๒๒
  3. ๒๓-๒๔
  4. ๒๕-๒๖
  5. ๒๗-๒๘
  6. ๒๙ หรือมากกว่านั้น
2. เพศ
  1. หญิง
  2. ชาย
3. สถานที่เกิด
  1. กรุงเทพฯ
  2. ภาคกลาง
  3. ภาคเหนือ
  4. ภาคอีสาน
  5. ภาคใต้
4. ก่อนออกจากประเทศไทย สถานศึกษา  
แหล่งสุดท้ายของท่านคือ .....
5. ประกาศนียบัตร หรือ ปริญญาบัตรสูงสุด  
ที่ได้รับเมื่ออยู่เมืองไทยคือ .....
6. ปัจจุบันกำลังศึกษาอยู่ที่ .....
7. ศึกษาในแผนกวิชา (field of study)  
สาขา .....

8. กำลังศึกษาเพื่อปริญญา
  1. B.A.
  2. M.A. or M.S.
  3. Ph.D. or Ed.D.
  4. M.D.
  5. อื่นๆ (ขอให้ระบุ) .....
9. ท่านอยู่ในสหรัฐอเมริกาเป็นเวลาที่เดือน.....
10. เวลที่ท่านพักอยู่ที่ไหน
  1. หอพักนักศึกษา
  2. อพาร์ทเมนต์
  3. อยู่กับครอบครัวอเมริกัน
11. ท่านนับถือศาสนาอะไร
  1. พุทธศาสนา
  2. โปรเตสแตนต์
  3. โรมันแคทอลิก
  4. อื่นๆ (โปรดใส่ชื่อศาสนานั้นๆ) .....
12. ใครเป็นผู้จ่ายค่าใช้จ่ายให้ท่านระหว่างที่ศึกษา  
อยู่ในสหรัฐอเมริกา
  1. ทุนส่วนตัว
  2. ทุนรัฐบาลไทย
  3. ทุนรัฐบาลอเมริกัน
  4. ทุนการศึกษาจากแหล่งอื่นๆ (ขอให้ระบุ) ...
13. ระหว่างที่ศึกษาอยู่ในสหรัฐอเมริกา  
ท่านเคยทำงานหาเงินบ้างหรือเปล่า  
ถ้าเคยทำแบบไหน และ เป็นเวลาที่เดือน
  1. ทำบางชั่วโมง ..... เดือน
  2. ทำเต็มเวลา ..... เดือน

## แบบสอบถาม ๒

คำถามในตอนนี้มีคำตอบให้เลือกหลายอัน ไม่มีคำตอบอันไหนผิด หรือ ถูก เพราะไม่ใช่การระบุข้อเท็จจริง หากแต่เป็นการแสดงความคิดเห็นของท่าน ฉะนั้นกรุณาเลือกคำตอบที่ท่านเห็นควรมากที่สุด โปรดอ่านคำถามแต่ละข้อและคำถามคำตอบเหล่านั้น คำตอบอันใดใกล้เคียงกับความเห็นของท่านเองมากที่สุด ก็เลือกอันนั้นไปโดยวงกลมตัวเลขที่อยู่หน้าคำตอบนั้น โปรดวงแต่คำตอบเดียว สำหรับคำถามแต่ละข้อ (ยกเว้นข้อที่มีคำสั่งให้เลือกมากกว่าหนึ่งคำตอบ) โดยปกติแล้วสำหรับท่านที่เห็นควรมากที่สุดเป็นครั้งแรก มักจะใกล้เคียงความรู้สึกของท่านมากที่สุด โปรดตอบคำถามทุกข้อ

ตัวอย่าง ลักษณะของนักศึกษาที่พึงปรารถนา คือ บุคคลที่

๑. แสดงความเคารพเคารพระบอบอาจารย์
๒. ทำงานหนักและจริงจัง
๓. เขากับคนใดก็

14. ท่านมีความรู้สึกอย่างไรต่อการศึกษาในสถานศึกษาที่ท่านกำลังศึกษาอยู่
  1. พอใจมาก
  2. พอใจพอประมาณ
  3. เฉยๆ
  4. ไม่ค่อยพอใจ
  5. ไม่พอใจเลย
15. ท่านคิดว่าคนอเมริกัน คิดว่าการ พัฒนาการทางเศรษฐกิจของประเทศไทยนี้ อยู่ในระดับไหน
  1. สูงมาก
  2. สูง
  3. ปานกลาง
  4. ต่ำ
  5. ต่ำมาก
16. ท่านมีความรู้สึกอย่างไร เกี่ยวกับความคิดเห็นของคนอเมริกัน ที่มีต่อภาวะทางเศรษฐกิจของประเทศไทย
  1. พอใจมาก
  2. พอใจ
  3. เฉยๆ
  4. ไม่ค่อยพอใจ
  5. ไม่พอใจเลย
17. ท่านคิดว่าคนอเมริกัน คิดว่าวัฒนธรรมของไทยอยู่ในระดับไหน
  1. สูงมาก
  2. สูง
  3. ปานกลาง
  4. ต่ำ
  5. ต่ำมาก

18. ท่านมีความรู้สึกอย่างไร เกี่ยวกับความคึกคึกของคนอเมริกัน ที่มีต่อระบอบวัฒนธรรมไทย
1. พอใจมาก
  2. พอใจ
  3. เฉยๆ
  4. ไม่พอใจ
  5. ไม่พอใจเลย
19. นโยบายเกี่ยวกับประเทศไทยของรัฐบาลอเมริกันนั้น แสดงถึงความเข้าใจประเทศไทย และให้เกียรติแก่ประเทศไทยพอสมควร
1. เห็นด้วยอย่างมาก
  2. เห็นด้วย
  3. ไม่เห็นด้วย
  4. ไม่เห็นด้วยเลย
20. ข้อความต่อไปนี้ อันไหนใกล้เคียงกับความเชื่อของท่านมากที่สุด
1. พระพุทธ หรือ พระผู้เป็นเจ้าผู้สร้างโลก และ ควบคุมความเป็นอยู่ของมนุษย์นั้นมีจริง
  2. พระพุทธ หรือ พระผู้เป็นเจ้านั้นมีจริง หากแต่ถ้าไม่มีใครทราบรายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับท่าน
  3. เนื่องจากเราไม่รู้เรื่องเกี่ยวกับศาสนาที่ขอ จึงไม่อยู่ในฐานะที่จะตัดสินลงไปว่า พระพุทธ หรือ พระผู้เป็นเจ้ามีจริงหรือไม่
  4. พระพุทธ หรือ พระผู้เป็นเจ้าไม่มีจริง เป็นเพียงความนึกคิดเท่านั้น
21. พระพุทธเจ้าก็คือ พระผู้เป็นเจ้าซึ่งมองเห็นการทำความดีของเรา และ โทษในคำอธิษฐานของเรา
1. เห็นด้วย
  2. ไม่เห็นด้วย
22. พระพุทธเจ้าเสด็จเข้านิพพานไปแล้ว ฉะนั้นท่านไม่อยู่ในสถานะที่จะรับรู้เกี่ยวกับความเป็นไปของมนุษย์
1. เห็นด้วย
  2. ไม่เห็นด้วย
23. ข้าพเจ้าเห็นว่าพระในปัจจุบันคือ
1. ผู้สืบศาสนา
  2. ผู้สั่งสอนธรรมะให้แก่บุคคลในศาสนา
  3. ผู้ทำพิธีทางศาสนา
  4. ผู้เป็นที่พึ่งทางใจ
  5. ผู้ที่ไม่ทำอะไรเลย
  6. ผู้ที่หาเงินเสียกำลังงานของชาติ
  7. ผู้ที่โฆษณาศาสนาเป็นเครื่องยังชีพ



24. ข้อความใดที่ท่านเห็นว่าเหมาะสมที่สุดในการทำบุญ

1. เพื่อให้ชาติหน้ามีความสุข
2. เป็นการกุศล
3. ทำให้มีความสุข
4. เป็นการสืบทอดศาสนา
5. ทำเพราะกลัวเสียหน้า
6. ทำไปบรรเทาบุญคุณดวงลับไปแล้ว
7. ไม่สำคัญ

25. ข้าพเจ้าคิดว่าพระสงฆ์จะปฏิบัติตน

1. อย่างที่เคยปฏิบัติมาแต่เดิมอย่างเคร่งครัด
2. เปลี่ยนไปเฉพาะสิ่งที่จำเป็นจริงๆ
3. เปลี่ยนส่วนมากแต่ไม่ทั้งหมด (ธรรมะไม่เปลี่ยน)

26. ข้าพเจ้าคิดว่าพระสงฆ์ทำประโยชน์ต่อชุมชนดังนี้

1. เป็นผู้นำของชุมชน
2. เทศน์
3. ปลอบใจคน
4. สอนให้คนประพฤติดี
5. ช่วยประกอบพิธีทางศาสนา เช่น งานมงคล หรืองานศพ
6. เป็นหมอ
7. มีค้ำประกันทุกข์ เช่น รักษาน้ำมนต์
8. อื่นๆ (ขอให้ระบุ).....
9. ข้าพเจ้าไม่คิดว่าพระมีความสำคัญ

27. ชีวิตข้าพเจ้าจะสมบูรณ์ถ้าข้าพเจ้าจะ

1. ไม่เชื่อในศาสนา แต่ยึดมั่นในปรัชญา หรือ ในศีลธรรมจรรยา
2. เชื่อในศาสนาบางแต่ไม่ไปวัดเลย
3. เชื่อในศาสนาและไปวัดบ้าง
4. เชื่อในศาสนาและไปวัดบ่อยๆ
5. เชื่อในศาสนาและไปวัดเป็นประจำ
6. ข้าพเจ้าไม่คิดว่า ข้อความดังกล่าวจะทำให้ชีวิตของข้าพเจ้า
7. สมบูรณ์

28. ความสำคัญของพุทธศาสนา ก็คือ

1. ทำให้ประเทศเป็นน้ำหนึ่งใจเดียวกัน
2. ทำให้คนเมืองมีจิตใจสงบสุข
3. ทำให้คนเมืองรักความสงบ
4. เป็นสัญลักษณ์ของประเทศ
5. ทำให้คนเมืองคิดและกระทำโดยมีเหตุผล
6. ทำให้คนไปถึงนิพพาน
7. ทำให้ชาติหน้ามีชีวิตดีขึ้น

29. อาชีพที่ข้าพเจ้าต้องการจะเป็นคือ

1. ครู
2. ศิลปิน
3. พนักงานเงินเดือน นักหนังสือพิมพ์
4. แพทย์
5. หนายความ
6. สถาปนิก
7. นักวิทยาศาสตร์
8. วิศวกร
9. นักธุรกิจ นายทุน
10. เกษตรกร (ทำนา ทำไร่ ทำสวน เลี้ยงสัตว์ จับปลา)
11. ทหาร
12. อื่นๆ (ขอให้อธิบาย) .....

30. ข้าพเจ้าต้องการจะทำงานใน

1. กรุงเทพฯ
2. ต่างจังหวัด
3. ชานเมือง
4. ต่างประเทศ

31. ข้าพเจ้าคิดว่าการที่จะได้งานทำนั้นขึ้นอยู่กับ

1. สติปัญญาและความสามารถ
2. การศึกษา
3. โชค
4. ประสบการณ์
5. บุคคลิกลักษณะ
6. ความคิดริเริ่มสร้างสรรค์
7. ความผูกพันกับครอบครัว
8. การรู้จักผู้ใหญ่ที่มีอิทธิพลในวงการนั้น
9. ความตั้งใจจริง
10. อื่นๆ (ขอให้อธิบาย) .....

32. ถ้ามีโอกาสจะเลือกงาน, ข้าพเจ้าจะเลือก

1. งานที่มีรายได้สูง แต่แน่ใจว่าจะมีอาชีพนี้ได้ตลอดไป
2. งานที่มีรายได้ค่อนข้างดี แต่โอกาสของการทำงานและตกงานมีเท่าๆกัน
3. งานที่มีรายได้สูงมาก แต่ตกงานได้ง่ายถ้าบริษัทแม่หรือหน่วยงานที่เกี่ยวข้องมีปัญหา

33. งานที่ข้าพเจ้าตั้งใจจะทำคือ

1. เปิดโอกาสให้ข้าพเจ้าได้ใช้ความสามารถพิเศษของข้าพเจ้า
2. เป็นงานที่ข้าพเจ้ามองเป็นอนาคตความมั่นคงและปลอดภัย
3. ทำให้ข้าพเจ้าได้ใช้ความคิดริเริ่มและสร้างสรรค์
4. ทำให้ข้าพเจ้าได้ทำประโยชน์แก่ผู้อื่น
5. มีโอกาสจะหาเงินได้มาก
6. เปิดโอกาสให้ข้าพเจ้าได้รู้ความเป็นผู้นำ
7. เป็นงานอิสระ ไม่อยู่ใต้อาณัติของใคร
8. เป็นงานที่มีเกียรติและเป็นที่ยกย่องของสังคม

34. งานหรือกิจกรรมใดที่ข้าพเจ้าจะตั้งใจมากที่สุดในชีวิตนี้  
(เลือก ๓ ข้อ, เฉพาะข้อนี้)

1. อาชีพที่พำนัก
2. ชีวิตครอบครัว
3. การพักผ่อนหย่อนใจ
4. กิจกรรมหรือความเชื่อในทางศาสนา
5. งานสังคมสงเคราะห์
6. การมีส่วนร่วมในงานของชาติ
7. อื่นๆ (ขอโพธิ์) .....

35. เกี่ยวกับอาชีพ ข้าพเจ้าคิดว่าผู้ซึ่ง

1. ควรประกอบอาชีพไม่ว่าจะแต่งงานแล้วหรือไม่ก็ตาม
2. ไม่ควรประกอบอาชีพ
3. ควรประกอบอาชีพถ้ายังไม่แต่งงาน
4. ควรประกอบอาชีพถ้ายังไม่เป็นบุตร
5. ประกอบอาชีพเมื่อลูกมีอายุ ๕ ขวบ
6. ประกอบอาชีพเมื่อลูกเข้าโรงเรียนประถมแล้ว
7. ประกอบอาชีพเมื่อลูกเข้าโรงเรียนมัธยมแล้ว
8. ประกอบอาชีพเมื่อลูกอายุเท่าไรก็ได้
9. อื่นๆ (ขอโพธิ์) .....

36. อาชีพที่ข้าพเจ้าจะทำหลังจากจบการศึกษาแล้วคือ .....

37. จงเรียงลำดับด้วยตัวเลขตามความสำคัญของบุคคลในสังคมที่ท่าน  
ยกย่องความดีเป็นของท่าน

พู่สาร .....

ข้าราชการ .....

แพทย์ .....

กรรมกร .....

ครู .....

รัฐ .....

ทอผ้า .....

เจ้านาย (เช่นหม่อมเจ้า หม่อมราชวงศ์ ฯลฯ) .....

ชาวนา .....

46. จุดมุ่งหมายของการศึกษาในมหาวิทยาลัย

1. เพื่อเตรียมตัวประกอบอาชีพ
2. เพื่อศึกษาวางจะเข้กับผู้อื่นใดอย่างไร
3. เพื่อศึกษาวางจะดำรงชีวิตอยู่อย่างสมบูรณ์ และ มีความหมายใด
4. อย่างไร
5. เพื่อเตรียมตัวสำหรับการแต่งงานและมีชีวิตครอบครัวที่น่าสุข
6. เพื่อช่วยแก้ปัญหาในชีวิตอนาคตใด
7. เพื่อพัฒนาความรู้และความสนใจ
8. เพื่อใ้ใครประจักษ์
9. เพื่อช่วยใ้เราใ้มีอิทธิพลและเกียรติ
10. เพื่อศึกษาวางจะเข้าใจตนเองใดอย่างไร
11. เพื่อจะใ้เป็นบุคคลที่กว้างขวางในสังคม

47. ผู้ที่มีการศึกษาคือบุคคลที่

1. มีปริญญา
2. มีกิริยามารยาทเรียบร้อย
3. ทำตามกฎข้อบังคับของสังคมอย่างดีที่สุด
4. รู้จักและเข้าใจในสิ่งทุกอย่าง
5. สามารถนำความรู้ไปใ้ใ้เป็นประโยชน์แก่ประเทศชาติ
6. รู้วิธีจะอยู่ร่วมกับผู้อื่นใด
7. ขวนขวายหาความรู้อยู่เสมอ
8. รู้วิธีจะดำรงชีวิตอยู่ใ้ได้อย่างสงบสุข
9. สามารถแก้ปัญหาในชีวิตประจำวันใ้
10. สามารถปรับตนเข้ากับสิ่งแวดล้อมใ้ได้อย่างดี

48. ลักษณะของครูที่ดีที่สุดคือ

1. บุติธรรมและเชื่อในสิ่งที่ท่านบอก
2. มีรูปร่างลักษณะดี
3. สามารถควบคุมตนเองใ้
4. มีอารมณ์ขันอยู่เสมอ
5. ปรับปรุงตนเองใ้และมีใจกว้างขวาง
6. เป็นเพื่อนที่อาวุโสและมีอิทธิพลดีตลอดเวลา
7. นักเรียนใ้ในความเคารพอยู่เสมอ
8. เด็ดขาดและมีความรู้มาก
9. สนใจและเข้าใจนักเรียน
10. มีสิทธิอันประจักษ์
11. ทำอะไรเสมอตนเสมอปลาย

49. ลักษณะของนักเรียนที่ดีที่สุดคือ
1. ต้องมีสติปัญญาเฉลียวฉลาดและมีไหวพริบดี
  2. มีความสนใจอย่างกว้างขวาง
  3. เป็นที่ซื่อสัตย์และให้ความเป็นมิตรต่อผู้อื่น
  4. ทำงานด้วยตนเอง อุตสาหะ
  5. เขียนและพูดได้อย่างดี
  6. มีความคิดริเริ่มอยู่เสมอ
  7. เป็นผู้นำที่ดี
  8. มีความรับผิดชอบในคำสัตย์
  9. มีความสามารถในการพิจารณาและวิเคราะห์สิ่งต่างๆ
  10. สนใจในสิ่งสวยงามต่างๆ ชอบโคลงกลอน ศิลป วรรณคดี และธรรมชาติ
  11. เชื่อฟังและยอมรับความคิดเห็นของครู
  12. มีกิริยามารยาทเรียบร้อย
50. นักเรียนชั้นมหาวิทยาลัยควรมีสิทธิ์มีเสียงในการตัดสินใจเกี่ยวกับงานด้านบริหาร
1. เห็นด้วยอย่างมาก
  2. เห็นด้วย
  3. ไม่เห็นด้วย
  4. ไม่เห็นด้วยเลย
51. ในชั้นเรียนธรรมดานี้ใช้การปกครองแบบประชาธิปไตยได้อย่างไร
1. เห็นด้วยอย่างมาก
  2. เห็นด้วย
  3. ไม่เห็นด้วย
  4. ไม่เห็นด้วยเลย
52. ถ้าสอนอาทิตย์ละ ๑๒ ชั่วโมง ควรจะใช้เวลาเตรียมการสอนประมาณ
1. ๖ ชั่วโมง
  2. ๑๒ ชั่วโมง
  3. ๑๔ ชั่วโมง
  4. ๒๔ ชั่วโมง
53. สิ่งสำคัญที่เป็นมูลเหตุทำให้ครูไม่ประสบผลสำเร็จคือ
1. มีท่าทางรุนแรงและทู่เข็ญต่อนักเรียน
  2. มีความรู้ที่เป็นเนื้อหาไม่พอเพียง
  3. ไม่มีความสามารถที่จะจัดระบบการทำงานให้เป็นระเบียบ



54. เมื่อระเบียบข้อบังคับซึ่งกำหนดโดยหัวหน้าของท่านขัดแย้งกับความ  
ต้องการและความเชื่อดีของท่าน ท่านจะ

1. โทษนักเรียนปฏิบัติตามระเบียบข้อบังคับ
2. พยายามอธิบายกับหัวหน้าของท่านเพื่อให้เปลี่ยนระเบียบ  
ข้อบังคับนั้น
3. พยายามที่จะเปลี่ยนระเบียบข้อบังคับนั้นเล็กน้อยเพื่อให้นักเรียน  
ปฏิบัติตาม
4. ไม่สนใจกับระเบียบข้อบังคับนั้นเลย

55. ข้าพเจ้าคิดว่าการมีนักรักเพื่อนต่างเพศควรจะ

1. เป็นไปตามประเพณีไทยเดิม
2. ออกไปเป็นหมู่ใหญ่
3. มีคนอื่นไปเป็นเพื่อนด้วย
4. ไปกันสองคู่สอง
5. ไปกันสองคู่สองถ้าเป็นคนที่เรารัก
6. มีความระมัดระวัง
7. มีพี่น้องหรือญาติอยู่ด้วย
8. ไม่ควรมีนักรักเพื่อนต่างเพศเลย

56. ข้าพเจ้าคิดว่าคนหนุ่มสาวควรจะ

1. มีนักรักเพื่อนต่างเพศหลายคนที่สุดเท่าที่จะทำได้
2. มีนักรักเพื่อนต่างเพศเฉพาะกับคนที่เราจะแต่งงานด้วย
3. มีนักรักเพื่อนต่างเพศที่จะแต่งงานด้วย แต่เขาทำไม่ได้ก็  
ให้เปลี่ยนใหม่ไป
4. ไม่มีนักรักเพื่อนต่างเพศเลย

57. การมีนักรักเพื่อนต่างเพศสำคัญเพราะ

1. สนุก
2. ทำให้สังคมยอมรับ
3. ได้รับความรู้ความคิดเห็นจากคนอื่น
4. ทำให้ใคร่จู้จุกคร่งของเราผ่อนคลาย
5. การมีนักรักไม่สำคัญเลย

58. ในการตัดสินใจที่จะแต่งงาน ข้าพเจ้าคิดว่าควร

1. เลือกเอง
2. เลือกเองแต่พ่อแม่ต้องเห็นด้วย
3. พ่อแม่เลือกให้
4. คนอื่นเลือกให้ (ขอให้มี) .....

59. หน้าที่สำคัญที่สุดของสามีคือ (เลือกตอบ ๓ ข้อเฉพาะข้อนี้)

1. เป็นหัวหน้าครอบครัว
2. ช่วยอบรมบุตร
3. สอนงานอาชีพให้แก่บุตร
4. รับผิดชอบภรรยาและบุตร
5. ปกป้องครอบครัวไม่ให้อับอายหรือเสื่อมเสีย
6. หาเงิน
7. จัดการเงินของครอบครัว

60. หน้าที่สำคัญที่สุดของภรรยา คือ (เลือกตอบ ๓ ข้อ เฉพาะข้อนี้)

1. มีบุตร
2. เป็นแม่บ้าน
3. เลี้ยงบุตร
4. ช่วยแบ่งเบาภาระของสามี
5. เป็นเพื่อนเมื่อสามีมีเรื่องเดือดร้อน
6. จัดการเงินของครอบครัว
7. รับผิดชอบในเรื่องความประพฤติของคนในครอบครัว
8. ใจกว้างใจดีกับบุตร
9. หารายได้พิเศษ
10. ทำงานนอกบ้าน

61. ใครที่ควรจะเป็นผู้ตัดสินปัญหาสำหรับครอบครัว

1. บิดา
2. มารดา
3. บิดามารดา
4. ปู่, ทา
5. ย่า, ยาย
6. ปู่, ย่า, ทา, ยาย
7. ทุกคนในบ้าน

62. ชาวเจ้าอาขามีบุตร

1. ๑ คน
2. ๑-๒ คน
3. ๑-๓ คน
4. ๔-๖ คน
5. ๖ คน หรือ มากกว่านั้น
6. ไม่มีเลย

63. ผู้ชายควรจะมีควมรับผิดชอบเต็มที่เมื่อ

1. สำเร็จชั้นมัธยมปีที่ ๖
2. สำเร็จชั้นเตรียมอุดมหรือเทียบเท่า
3. สำเร็จการศึกษา
4. อายุ ๒๐ ปี
5. บวชแล้ว
6. หักเงินตัวเอง
7. แยกงาน
8. มีบุตร

64. ผู้หญิงควรจะมีควมรับผิดชอบเต็มที่เมื่อ

1. สำเร็จชั้นมัธยมปีที่ ๖
2. สำเร็จเตรียมอุดมหรือเทียบเท่า
3. สำเร็จการศึกษา
4. อายุ ๒๐ ปี
5. หักเงินตัวเอง
6. แยกงานแล้ว
7. มีบุตร

65. เมื่อเกิดครอบครัวแล้วจะไปหา

1. บิดา
2. มารดา
3. บิดา มารดา
4. ปู่ ย่า ตา ยาย
5. พี่น้อง
- 6.ญาติพี่น้อง
7. เพื่อนที่สนิทเคยเจอกัน
8. เพื่อนต่างเพศที่สนิทสนมกัน
9. ครู
10. ไม่ไปหาใครเลย
11. อื่นๆ (ขอใหระบุ) .....

## D. ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

## QUESTIONNAIRE: PART I

Instructions: Indicate your answers to the following questions by circling the number in front of the appropriate answer or by writing the desired information. This questionnaire is anonymous; do not sign your name.

## 1. Age on your last birthday:

1. 20 or less
2. 21-22
3. 23-24
4. 25-26
5. 27-28
6. 29 or more.

## 2. Sex:

1. Female
2. Male.

## 3. Place of origin in Thailand:

1. Bangkok
2. Central Plains
3. North
4. East
5. South

## 4. Name the institution from which you were graduated in Thailand:

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## 5. Highest academic level completed in Thailand: \_\_\_\_\_

## 6. Name the university or college where you are presently registered:

---

## 7. Field of study (major): \_\_\_\_\_

## 8. Degree for which you are studying:

1. B.A.
2. M.A. or M.S.
3. Ph.D. or Ed.D.
4. M.D.
5. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

9. How many months have you been in the United States: \_\_\_\_\_
10. At what type of residence are you staying now?
1. Student residence
  2. Boarding house
  3. Private home.
11. With what religion are you affiliated?
1. Buddhist
  2. Protestant
  3. Roman Catholic
  4. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
12. Source of financial support:
1. Family
  2. Thai Government scholarship
  3. U.S. Government scholarship
  4. Other scholarship (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
13. Have you had any work experience while in the United States?
1. Part-time job: how many months: \_\_\_\_\_
  2. Full-time job: how many months: \_\_\_\_\_



## QUESTIONNAIRE: PART II

Instructions Listed below are a number of questions to which a list of possible answers are given. There are no right or wrong answers. Each statement reflects opinions, not matters of fact. We are interested in knowing your preference in such matters of opinions.

Read each question and the possible answers which follow. Then indicate the answer which comes closest to your own view by circling with pencil or pen the number corresponding to the answer of your choice. Mark only one alternative for each item, unless otherwise indicated. Remember that first impressions are usually best in such matters. Give your opinion on every statement.

Example:

The ideal student is a person who:

1. Shows respect to his teacher
- ②. Is earnest to work
3. Gets along well with others.

14. How do you feel about the academic experience at the university you are now attending?

1. Very satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Indifferent
4. Somewhat dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied.

15. How do you think people in the United States rank Thailand on economic development?

1. Very high
2. High
3. Average
4. Low
5. Very low.

16. How do you feel about the way people in the United States rank Thailand on economic standards?

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Indifferent
4. Dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied.

17. How do you think people in the United States rank Thailand on cultural standards?
1. Very high
  2. High
  3. Average
  4. Low
  5. Very low.
18. How do you feel about the way people in the United States rank Thailand on cultural standards?
1. Very satisfied
  2. Satisfied
  3. Indifferent
  4. Dissatisfied
  5. Very dissatisfied.
19. The policy of the United States towards Thailand reflects understanding and respect:
1. Agree strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Disagree
  4. Disagree strongly.
20. Which of the following statements is most representative of your own beliefs:
1. There exists a Supreme Being who created the universe and who maintains an active concern for human affairs.
  2. There exists a Supreme Being about whom nothing definite is known.
  3. Because of our ignorance in religious matters I see no adequate grounds for either affirming or denying the existence of God.
  4. I reject all belief in a Supreme Being and regard such a notion as a fiction of the mind.
21. Buddha is a kind of Supreme Being who sees our good deeds and hears our prayers:
1. Agree
  2. Disagree.
22. Buddha is not a spirit and he knows nothing about us:
1. Agree
  2. Disagree.

23. I feel that in modern times the monk is someone who:
1. Keeps the traditions of the church
  2. Teaches morals to the members of the church
  3. Performs religious ceremonies
  4. Can be trusted
  5. Does not do anything
  6. Wastes the national labor potential
  7. Uses religion as a means of livelihood.
24. What is the most appropriate motive for "merit-making"?
1. Happiness in the next world
  2. Charity
  3. Happiness
  4. Strengthening the church
  5. Fear of losing face
  6. For deceased ancestors
  7. It is not important.
25. I think the monk's way of life should:
1. Follow strictly the traditional way
  2. Change, but only for what truly needs to be changed
  3. Change greatly, but not completely (no change in moral teachings).
26. In my opinion monks can benefit the people as:
1. Leaders
  2. Preachers
  3. Advisors
  4. Comforters
  5. Ministers of ceremonies
  6. Fortune-tellers
  7. Relievers of suffering, e.g., by the use of holy water
  8. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  9. I do not think monks are important at all.
27. My life will be perfect if:
1. I do not believe in religion but rely on ethics or philosophy
  2. I believe in religion but do not go to church
  3. I believe in religion and go to church occasionally
  4. I believe in religion and go to church often
  5. I believe in religion and go to church daily
  6. I do not think any of the above statements will make my life perfect.

28. Buddhism is important because it:

1. Brings about unity of mind in the country
2. Gives happiness to people
3. Induces people to love peace
4. Gives the country a symbol
5. Leads people toward Nirvana
6. Helps people think rationally
7. Insures a better hereafter.

29. I would like to enter the following profession:

1. Teacher
2. Artist
3. Journalist
4. Doctor
5. Lawyer
6. Architect
7. Scientist
8. Engineer
9. Businessman
10. Farmer
11. Soldier
12. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

30. I would like to work:

1. In Bangkok
2. Up country
3. In the suburbs
4. Abroad.

31. I think that getting a job depends on:

1. Intelligence and ability
2. Education
3. Luck
4. Experience
5. Appearance
6. Initiative
7. Family connections
8. Acquaintance with some influential person
9. Serious effort
10. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

32. In choosing a job I would prefer:

1. A job that gives me little money but which I can have forever
2. A job which pays a good salary but which I have a fifty-fifty chance of losing
3. A job which pays a very high salary but is easy to lose

33. The job that would satisfy me most would have to:
1. Give me the opportunity to use my own aptitudes
  2. Offer me security and stability for the future
  3. Give me an opportunity to be creative and original
  4. Give me the opportunity to be helpful to others
  5. Offer me the chance to earn a good deal of money
  6. Give me the chance to exercise leadership
  7. Provide for work free of supervision
  8. Give me social status and prestige.
34. The kind of work or activity that would give me most satisfaction in life is: (choose 2)
1. My own career
  2. My family life
  3. Leisure time and recreational activities
  4. Religious beliefs and activities
  5. Participation in the community affairs
  6. Participation in national affairs
  7. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
35. Concerning careers and women I think that women should:
1. Work whether they get married or not
  2. Not work
  3. Work if they are not married
  4. Work if they have no children
  5. Resume work when the child is 5 years old
  6. Resume work when the child enters elementary school
  7. Resume work when the child enters high school
  8. Work whatever the age of the children
  9. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
36. The career I expect to be engaged in after my education is over is: \_\_\_\_\_
37. Rank the following professions in order of importance:
- Soldier: \_\_\_\_\_
- Government official: \_\_\_\_\_
- Doctor: \_\_\_\_\_
- Laborer: \_\_\_\_\_
- Teacher: \_\_\_\_\_
- Monk: \_\_\_\_\_
- Merchant: \_\_\_\_\_
- Royalty: \_\_\_\_\_
- Farmer: \_\_\_\_\_

Note: Numbers go from 37 to 46 because Item 37 required nine columns on IBM cards.



46. The educational goals of a college or university should be to:

1. Provide training directly applicable to a career
2. Develop the ability to get along with people
3. Prepare to live a meaningful and successful life
4. Prepare for a happy marriage and family life
5. Develop the ability to solve the problems that will arise in life
6. Provide knowledge and develop interests
7. Lead to a degree
8. Help in getting privileges and honors
9. Develop self-understanding
10. Help in attaining social recognition.

47. The educated person is a person who:

1. Has a degree
2. Has good manners
3. Conforms to social standards
4. Is knowledgeable in everything
5. Is able to use one's knowledge for the common good
6. Is able to deal with others
7. Has an open mind and desires to learn always
8. Knows how to lead a happy life
9. Is able to solve life's daily problems
10. Can adapt to circumstances

48. What is the main characteristic of the ideal teacher:

1. Fairness and faith in the students
2. Good appearance
3. Control of himself
4. Good humor
5. Ability to improve and to be open-minded
6. Friendliness and courteousness
7. Commands respect from the students
8. Intelligence and knowledge
9. Interest and understanding of students
10. Conscientiousness
11. Consistency.

49a What is the main characteristic of the ideal student:

1. Intelligence and cleverness
2. Open-mindedness
3. Friendliness
4. Works by himself; independence
5. Can write and speak well
6. Has original ideas
7. Good leader
8. Morally responsible
9. Critical and analytical
10. Interested in beautiful things (art, poetry, literature, nature)
11. Obedient and accepting of the teacher's opinion
12. Well-behaved.

50. Students should have a voice in decisions concerning administrative matters of the university:
1. Agree strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Disagree
  4. Disagree strongly.
51. In the classroom democratic practices should be used:
1. Agree strongly
  2. Agree
  3. Disagree
  4. Disagree strongly.
52. A twelve hour teaching week requires a preparation of:
1. 6 hours
  2. 12 hours
  3. 18 hours
  4. 24 hours
53. Teachers are not successful because:
1. They are too strict and too distant with students
  2. They do not know enough
  3. Their presentation is poor and not systematic.
54. If you were a teacher and your supervisor made some rule which conflicted with your own beliefs, what should you do?
1. Make the students obey the rule
  2. Try to discuss it with the supervisor
  3. Try to change the rule a little
  4. Pay no attention to the rule.
55. I think that dates between persons of different sexes should take place:
1. According to the traditional Thai way
  2. In large groups
  3. With a chaperone
  4. Alone
  5. Alone only if in love
  6. With the parents
  7. With relatives
  8. Should not date.
56. I think young people:
1. Should have dates with different partners as often as possible
  2. Should have dates only with the person they will marry

## 56. (continued)

3. Should have dates with the person they think they might marry, but could change for a new partner if things do not work out
4. Should never have a date.

## 57. Dating is important because:

1. It is fun
2. It will make me accepted socially
3. It enables people to know each other
4. It enables people to know their companion before marriage
5. Dating is not important.

## 58. Who should make the decision concerning your future husband or wife:

1. Myself
2. Myself with the consent of my parents
3. My parents should choose for me
4. Someone else (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

## 59. The most important duties of a husband are to: (choose 2)

1. Be the head of the family
2. Help raise the children
3. Prepare the children for a job
4. Be honest with his wife and children
5. Protect his family
6. Provide money
7. Administer the family's finances.

## 60. The most important duties of a wife are to: (choose 2)

1. Have children
2. Be a housewife
3. Feed the children
4. Alleviate the husband's burden
5. Be a companion to the husband when he is in trouble
6. Manage the family's money
7. Look after the family's happiness and relieve its sorrow
8. Provide education for the children
9. Find extra money
10. Work outside the home.

## 61. Who should make the decisions when the family has a problem?

1. The father
2. The mother
3. Both parents
4. The paternal grandparents
5. The maternal grandparents
6. All grandparents
7. Everyone in the house.

62. I want to have the following number of children:

1. 1
2. 1-2
3. 1-3
4. 4-6
5. 6 or more
6. None.

63. A man becomes fully responsible:

1. After standard VI
2. After Pre-university
3. After his education is all over
4. At the age of 20
5. After his Buddhist ordination
6. When he can support himself
7. When he gets married
8. When he has children.

64. A woman becomes fully responsible:

1. After standard VI
2. After Pre-university
3. After all her education is over
4. At the age of 20
5. When she can support herself
6. After marriage
7. When she has children.

65. When I have problems I go to:

1. My father
2. My mother
3. My parents
4. My grandparents
5. My relatives
6. My brothers and sisters
7. A close friend of the same sex
8. A close friend of the opposite sex
9. My teacher
10. I do not go to anyone
11. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_